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Gaeabhar Imuinn. *The Book of Hymns of the Ancient Church of Ireland.*

FASCICULUS II.

Containing

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| V. The Hymn of St. Colman Mac Ui Cluasaigh. | XIII. Te Deum Laudamus. |
| VI. The Hymn of St. Cuchuimne. | XIV. The Hymn of St. Columba, "Altus Pro- |
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| XII. The Benedictus, or Hymn of Zacharias. | XIX. Prefatory Remarks on the Hymn of St. Fiacc, in Praise of St. Patrick. |
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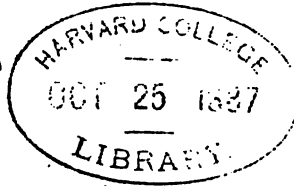
FOR THE IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND CELTIC SOCIETY, 23

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November, 1869.



ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS Fasciculus contains all the sheets which the late lamented Editor signed for the Press, before ill health and other obstacles interrupted the progress of the work. It is issued by direction of the Council in its present state, as a second instalment of the publication from the Editor's pen ; with the reasonable hope that, as Doctor Todd has left some materials for the continuation, and as there are two Members of the Society prepared to take up the work where he left off, another Fasciculus, carrying on the pagination and matter as originally proposed, will be ready for delivery at no distant period.

J. T. GILBERT, *Hon. Secretary.*

19, DAWSON-STREET, DUBLIN,
November, 1869.

V. THE HYMN OF ST. COLMAN MAC UI CLUASAIGH.

THE following composition is of the nature of what the ancient Irish ecclesiastics called a *Luirech*, or *Lorica*, i. e., a Hymn to be recited as a protection against pestilence, assaults of demons, or other apprehended evils. The recitation of such hymns, or prayers, was regarded as the buckling on of spiritual armour, and hence they received the name of *Lorica*, in allusion probably to Eph. vi. 14, *seq.*, or rather perhaps to Ps. xci. (Vulg. xc.) 4, 5, 6. An example of a hymn of this kind, which is evidently Irish, and is attributed to one "Lathacan¹ Scotigena," will be found in Mone's collection, *Hymn. Lat. Mediæ ævi*, vol. i. p. 367.

Of the Colman who is said to have been the author of the following Hymn, we know little except what we learn from the Preface of the Scholiast. He is there said to have been the son of the grandson of Cluasach; but who this Cluasach was, or what family bore his name, the Editor is unable to say. It appears, however, that Colman was a *Fer-Leghinn*, i. e., Lecturer or Professor, in the theological school or seminary of Cork, and that the Hymn was composed as a protection against the great pestilence which devastated Ireland in the seventh century. This seems to fix the date of its composition to shortly before A. D. 664, in which year (according to the chronology of the Four Masters) the two sons of Aedh Slaine, Diarmaid and Blathmac, joint kings of Ireland, with a great number of eminent saints and ecclesiastics, perished in the plague. There can be little doubt that the Colman to whom

¹ *Lathacan*.—This is probably the name which in Irish authorities is written Laidhgeann. Saints of this name are celebrated in the Irish Calendars, at Jan. 12, May 20, Oct. 23, and Nov. 28; but it is not easy to

identify any of them with this "Lathacan." The Four Masters record the death of a Laidhgenn, son of Baeth, of Clonfert Molua, A. D. 630; the Annals of Ulster call him "Laidggenn sapiens mac Baith Bannaigh."

The Hymn of St. Colman.

this hymn is attributed by the Scholiast must be regarded as the same who, under the name of "Colman Ua Cluasaigh," is mentioned by the Four Masters as the tutor of St. Cummain, or Cummine Fota, Bishop of Clonfert, and author of an elegy on the death of that prelate, A. D. 661, which has been already quoted.*

It is believed that this Hymn has never before been published, nor has the Editor been able to find any other MS. copy of it than that from which it is now printed. It is written in a dialect of Irish, which fully confirms the early date assigned to it. The Editor has endeavoured, in the Notes appended to the text, to point out the more important grammatical and philological peculiarities of its idiom, and he takes this opportunity of acknowledging his obligations to Dr. O'Donovan and Mr. Curry. To the former gentleman he is particularly indebted for much valuable philological and grammatical matter which is embodied in the notes; and Mr. Curry has given essential aid in the translation, as well as in deciphering and interpreting the obscurities of the MS. from which the text and its gloss have been printed. He has also to return thanks to Dr. Reeves for many valuable suggestions.

* See page 86, *supra*. The Four Masters fix the death of Colman Ua Cluasaigh at the same year as that of his pupil Cummine Fota (viz. A. D. 661); whereas the Scholiast's Preface states that the present hymn was composed on the occasion of the pestilence in which the kings Diarmaid and Blathmac died, viz. A. D. 664. But it is well known that the exact date of this celebrated plague is not very accurately

fixed, and that it continued with more or less intensity for some years. It may, therefore, be true, that our author composed the hymn on the occasion of the plague in which the kings of Ireland perished in 664, although he himself died of the same plague in 661. See Dr. Wilde's *Report on the Tables of Deaths*, (Census of Ireland for 1851, vol. v. p. 49 *sq.*



SEN DE. Colman mac hui Chluaraig pep legimb Copcaige ipe do nigne in immanra dia foernab ap in mbuibechair po boe ipnemir mac nOeda Sláne. An poftap imba doine in hEpinin in can fein, 7 pobe a nimmat conna póichcir aóe epí nól immaipe do cech fip in hEpinin .i. a noi do móin, 7 a noi do min, 7 a noi do chaill. eo po thpoirpce maiche pep nEpinin, im meio nOida Sláne, im Fachine Fabair, 7 im Ailepan, 7 im Manchan Leich, 7 im rochade archena, im huatigub na nboine ap do dechaid tepca bíb ann ap a nimmed. Conib aipe fein tucab in buibechair poirpu. conib de ac batacap meio Aeda Sláne ipin bliabam fin. 7 na ipuiche po páibrem 7 alu mulci. Dicunt alu combad Cholman do gnech uile. Acberac paipenn aile na berpai acht ba pann de namma 7 in feol dia bínam o fin immach .i. lech pann cech fip bíb. 1 Copcaig do nigne m-amfipir ba mac Aeda Sláne .i. blachmao 7 Diarmac. ipe .f. tucac a denma. Uídm mór do natad. por fip hEpinin .i. in buibe connaill, eo po iperfap hEpinin hule, 7 eo na papcaib acht cech epier bune in hEpinin 7 mbethaid. 7 conib dia n-anacul eo na feoil do pone ap in teidm fin do nibe Colman in nimmunnra, 7 ip ann do pola dopom a denam in can po chupcanarcap apenam eo apaire ipre mapra hEpinin amaig por cecheb in teidmapa eo mbear .ix. [conna] ecpurpu 7cip, ap nól eic teidm capair innunn, ut pepunt pepici, eo po iappair apaire den feol Cholman, ciapen 7 capla doib dul por pec oomab ann fein. acpubair Colman, cia pen on epa, ol peirrom, acht **SEN DE**; ap ipre po chupaircapom dul por ipib mapra immach por cecheb pep in ngalup.



SEN de donfe ffordonte mac maire ron peladar
faoessam dun innocht cia tiasam cain timadar

Iter poss no utmaile iter suide no sessam
ruire nime fri cech tress isseb attach adessam

Gloss.—1. *Donfe*.—1. pon fucca leir [may it be given by him]. *Ffordonte*.—1. forpund be .i. ci forp [on us come, i.e. come upon us]. *Ron peladar*.—1. do natad apair eopund diapiocin [may He put his veil over us for our protection]. 2. *Faoessam*.—1. faoerricin [may protect]. *Innocht*.—1. in nocte tribulationis. *Cia tiasam*.—1. cepe leach tiaram [wheresoever we go]. *Cain*.—1. alainb [beautiful]. *Timadar*.—1. cib imba fin diapiocin .i. doné ap nóbim [although numerous, we are to be protected, i.e. he does protect us]. 3. *Foes*.—1. cib forpidecht [whether at rest]. *Utmaile*.—1. cib forp imtecht [whether a going]. 4. *Ruire*.—1. porp [great King]. *Fri*.—1. contra. *Adessam*.—1. atchimit [we beseech].

1. *Sen de*.—For a translation of the tional Note (p. 132). The reader will Preface and of the Hymn, see the Addi- observe that each line contains fourteen

IT⁵ ge abeil meic adaim heli enoc diarcobair
RON SOERAT AR DIA NĠALAR SECIP LETH PONIBICH FOĠAIR

N⁶oe ocus abraham isac in mac adamra
IMMUN CISAT AR TEDMANN NACH AN TAIRLE ADAMNA

A⁷ilme athair tri cethrur ocus ioseph an uasal
RON SOERAT A NERNAIĠCHI CO RIĠ NIL AINĠLECH NUASAL 10

Gloss.—5. *Ige*.—i. ġuibmíc [we beseech]. *Abeil*.—i. luctus. *Adaim*.—i. terrenus, vel terrigena, vel terra rubra interpretatur. 6. *Dia ngalar*.—i. an in ġalup nġian .i. an in buidhe connail [from the sudden pestilence, i. e. from the *buidhe connail*]. *Foġair*.—i. foġnaiġer .i. done toma-chium [that gives warning, i. e. that makes threatening]. 7. *Noe*.—Noe consolatio interpretatur, quia per ipsum mundus consolatus est, in reparatione hominum. *Abraham*.—i. pater excelsus interpretatur. *Isac*.—i. risus interpretatur, quia per miraculum datus est. 8. *Immun* *fiat*.—i. ciġat immund [may they come about us]. *Adamna*.—i. adamni, .i. ġorġa [i. the spelling ought to be adamni, i. e. famine], i. quia per Adam venit dolor. 9. *Athair*.—i. Jacob. *Tri cethrur*.—i. xlii. patriarchas. *Joseph*.—i. augmentum interpretatur. *An uasal*.—i. an uapal ġep [the noble man]. 10. *Nil ainġlech*.—[of many angels] .i. quia [multos] angelos tenet.

syllables; and that there is rhyme or assonance between the final syllables of each line. The word *Sen* in modern Irish signifies luck or prosperity, but in the ancient language it is of frequent occurrence in the sense of *benediction*, as in the Feilire of Aengus, *Sen a Chriġt mo labra*, "Bless, O Christ, my lips." *Sen Oe* is the blessing of God, *Oe* being the genitive case of *Oia*, God. *Donfa*.—This seems like a future, or optative of some old verb, *bunaim*, or *bonaim*. In the Gloss on *poġbonce*, we are told that *be* or *ce* is for *ci*, *come*; and, therefore, the passage is paraphrased thus: "May the blessing of God be given by Him, may it come upon us." In more modern Irish, *Sen Oe go b-ciġib*, *op-painn go b-ciġib*. *Ron feladar*.—The word *pon* is a synthetic union of the verbal prefix *po*, with *inn* the accusative form of *ġinn*, *us*. The termination *abap* represents, in the modern lan-

guage, the 3rd person plural of the preterite; whereas, in *pelabap*, it is the 3rd singular present indicative active, with an optative signification. Dr. O'Donovan mentions *erġap*, or *arġap*, as a termination of the 3rd person singular preterite (*Gramm.* p. 157). But *abap* as a termination of the 3rd person singular *present* is the ancient form of the verb deponent; (see *Zeuss*, *Grammat. Celt.*, p. 444-5). The verb *pelaim*, or *pi-laim*, is evidently the Latin *volare*. See the Gloss. *Mac Máiġe*, now usually written *Mac Muirġe*, is the ordinary Irish designation of our Lord.

2. *Faoessam*.—See line 52. This word is a substantive, and we must understand some word signifying *give*, or *grant*, to obtain the interpretation of "May he protect." The termination *ġam*, or *ġum*, *ille*, *ipse*, is the emphatic termination. *Zeuss*, p. 334. *ġaoirġeam* is still used to signify *help*, *succour*. *Oun* is the ancient

Snaidsium moisi degtuisech ronsnaib tria rubrum maire
iesu aaron macc amra dauid in gilla dana

Job cosnapochaidib sech na nemi ronsnada
pathi fiadat ronanset la secht maccu mocaba

Eoin baptaiat adsluinnem rop dicitu dun rop snadub
iesu con apstalaib rop diar cobair fri gabud 15

Gloss.—11. *Snaidsium*.—i. non pnaib pnaib [may he protect us]. *Moisi*.—i. aquaticus, interpretatur, quia de Nilo flumine sumptus est. *Ronsnaid*.—i. populum Israel. 12. *Jesu*.—i. mac Nán [son of Nun]. *Aaron*.—i. mons fortitudinis interpretatur. *David*.—i. fortis manus interpretatur. 13. *Job*.—i. dolens interpretatur. 14. *Fiadat*.—i. fiada .i. po dia, .i. dia maich [fiada, i.e. po. good, and dia, God, the good God]. 15. *Eoin*.—i. in quo gratia interpretatur. *Baptaiat*.—i. qui Christum baptizavit. *Adsluinnem*.—i. apluinnem ar canber friu in hac laube [we declare our love (or reverence) for him in this song of praise]. 16. *Apstalaib*.—Apostolus Grece, missus interpretatur Latine. *Diar cobair*.—i. tpat diar cobair [may they come to our relief].

form of buinn, i.e., to inn, to us. Innocht would now be written anocht, *hac nocte*. Zeuss, p. 1130. *Tiasam*.—Here we have the ancient termination of the 1st person plural, am, instead of the modern mfo, or maorb. The am is clearly the Latin *amus*. The modern Irish to express "wheresoever we go" would be, cibe aic a b-céigmf.

4. *Issod*.—For ip eb, est id: eb is the ancient neuter form of the pronoun. Zeuss, p. 333. *Attach*.—Or atach, a request or supplication, .i. guib. O'Clery. *Adessam*.—This is a 1st person plural, according to the Gloss.

5. *Itge*.—Or itce, a form of attach, v. 4. The interpretations given in the Gloss of the proper names Abel and Adam, are taken from St. Jerome.

6. *Ron soerat*.—pon, for po inn, see note, v. 1. The termination poep-at would now be poep-aib, 3rd person plural. *Secip*.—Sometimes written cécip, the same as the modern gibe, for gub be, or cib b'e, whatsoever. *Fon mbith*.—It will

be observed that here, and in several other places in this MS., as ngle, ver. 37, hannglu, ver. 43, the eclipsing m or n is marked with a dot; and in the Gloss on ver. 5, in galup ndian.

7. *Noe*.—The interpretations given in the Gloss of the proper names, *Noe*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, are from St. Jerome.

8. *Tiat*.—See above, v. 2, *note*. Here we have the old termination of the 3rd person plural, which is now aib. This word would now be written cigib, or ciaig-aib. *Damna*.—*Damnatio*. The gloss on this word seems to consider the prep. a an essential part of it; and tells us that abamna, or adamni, signifying famine, or hunger, is derived from Adam, because by Adam came all suffering.

9. *Ailme*.—For ailim, or ailem.—The transposition of the e may possibly be an error of the transcriber.

11. *Snaidsium*.—*May he protect*. On the termination pium, see note, v. 2. *Moisi*.—The gloss interprets the name of *Moses* "aquaticus." St. Jerome, more correctly,

Maíre íoseph don ringrat et spiritus stefani
as cach inġ don forslaice taithmet anma iġnati

Cech martir cech dithrubach cech noeb ro bai hingenmnai
rop sciath dun diar nimdegail rop saiget huan pridemnai 20

Regem regum rogamus in nostris sermonibus
anacht noe a luchtalach dólui temporibus

Gloss.—17. *Maire*.—i. stilla vel stella maris, interpretatur. *Joseph*.—i. aite ipu [the tutor (or foster-father) of Jesus]. *Don ringrat*.—i. non coġrat diarnanacul [may they come to our protection]. *Spiritus*.—i. anima vel gratia ejus. *Stefani*.—i. coronatus interpretatur. 18. *Forslaice*.—i. non puġplaice [may it deliver us]. *Taithmet*.—i. poġ aithmet [commemorate]. 19. *Martir*.—i. pro Deo. *Dithrubach*.—[a hermit] i. pro Deo. *Noeb*.—[saint] i. pro Deo. *Hí agenmnai*.—i. virg- [initate]. 21. *In nostris*.—i. in Scotica lingua, vel huius ymni. 22. *Anacht*.—i. m pí poanacht [the King who saved]. *A luchtalach*.—i. lucht locha, no a lucht bub i. [his company on the water, or his black company] Noe cum suis tribus filiis et .iiii. uxores eorum.

“sumptus ex aqua, sive assumptio.” The interpretations of *Aaron* and of *David*, gloss, v. 12, although not very correct, are from St. Jerome. The interpretation of *David*, “manus fortis,” occurs in Origen and other ancient writers, and seems to have been taken from יד, *sufficiens*, and מן, *manus*—an etymology which exhibits a curious ignorance of Hebrew. *Ronsaid*.—i. e., po inn pnaib, or po pnaib inn, *who protected us*.

13. *Sech*.—*Over, beyond*,—præter, ultra, supra. Zeuss, *Gramm. Celt.* p. 612.

14. *Fiadat*.—This is a very ancient word, signifying the true or good God. The gloss, as above, is an attempt to give its etymology. The scholiast there tells us that piabac is the same as piaba, which is derived from po dia, which he explains Oia maich, *good God*—po, *good*; Oia, *God*.—See above, p. 84, note 9.

15. *Rop*.—For po ba, which in modern Irish is ġo mba, *may he be*; where it is

to be observed that the ancient po is the equivalent of ġo, giving the optative sense, and not a mere sign of the preterite indicative. *Ditiu*.—This word is now dfoin, or dfoean.

17. *Maire*.—The interpretation of the name of Mary, “stilla maris,” is evidently founded on the Hebrew form of the name *Miriam*, as if from מר, *a drop*, and ים, *the sea*. *Stella* seems a misspelling of *stilla*, having, so far as I know, no foundation in any Hebrew etymology. But it occurs in all the editions of St. Jerome's *Interpretatio Nominum Hebraicorum*, where we have the following:—“*Mariam plerique æstimant interpretari illuminant me isti, vel illuminatrix* [from the root ראה], vel *smyrna maris* [מרִים], sed mihi nequaquam videtur. Melius autem est, ut dicamus sonare eam *stellam* [read *stillam*] *maris*, sive *amarum mare* [root מרר]. Sciendumque quod Maria, sermone Syro, *domina* nuncupetur.” *Don ringrat*.—This is glossed poġrat, the

Melchisebech rex salem incerto de semine
RON soerat a ainriḡhe ab omni formidine

Soter soerus loth di thein qui per secula habetur 25
ut nos omnes precamur liberare dignetur

Abram de ur na ḡalbai snaibsiu ruri ronsnaba
soersum soerus in popul limpa fontis inḡaba

Gloss.—23. *Melchisedech*.—i. rex justitie interpretatur. 25. *Soerus*.—i. po roeparcat [who delivered]. *Loth*.—i. declinans, interpretatur. Loth mac Aran, mío Thara, frater Sarra [Lot the son of Haran, son of Tara, brother of Sara]. 28. *Soersum*.—i. po roepa pinn [may he rescue us]. *Limpa*.—i. cohoim abainn [that is a river]. *Inḡaba*.—i. ip in ḡabub ipabacat sine aqua quando venit ex Egypto [i. the need in which they were without water, when they came out of Egypt].

don, or pon, being *quod nos* (see note on v. 6). The verbs pínḡat and coḡpat are the 3rd person plural present, of which the modern form would be pínḡaib and coḡaib. The meaning seems to be, "May they be pleased to come to our protection." Coḡpaib is *to choose, to will, to desire*.

18. *Ignati*.—Over this word is a note taken from some ancient martyrology: a portion of it has been cut away by the binder. What remains is as follows:—"i. Ignatius episcopus secundus post Petrum in Antiochia primus, et passus sub Trajano imperatore. Ignatius a leonibus et aliis bestiis . ." It will be observed that Ignatius is here styled "secundus post Petrum," instead of "tertius," as in the Roman Martyrology, Feb. 1.

22. *A luchtlaḡ*.—The gloss on this word gives two meanings of it, derived from the double signification of loch, which may mean either *water*, or *black*.

23. *Rex Salem*.—Here in the MS. we have the following note as a gloss:

"Hieronymus. Aiunt Ebrei hunc esse Sem filium Noe; et supputantes annos vitae ipsius .cccc. ostendunt eum usque ad Isaac vixisse. Alii hunc esse quendam Cannaneum et ignotum cujus Ebrei genealogiam ignorant. Secundum autem Augustinum et Origenem, non homo fuit, sed angelus Domini. Homo sine patre et sine matre et sine genealogia esse non potest." And in the margin: "Hieronymus. Salem, non ut Josephus et nostrorum omnes arbitrantur, idem est et Hierusalem, sed oppidum iuxta Scithopolim, quod appellatur Salem, et dicitur venisse Jacob in Salem civitatem regionis Sichem, quæ est in terra Chanaan."—See St. Jerome's *Quæst. Hebr. in Gen.* [in c. xiv. 18], and *Epist. 73 ad Evangelum*, de Melchisedec, n. 2 and 7 (ed. Vallars.), in which last place the above extract about Salem occurs nearly verbatim. Cf. August. *Quæst. in Heptat. lib. i. 74* [in Gen. xxv. 22].

24. *Ron soerat*.—For po innroepat a ainriḡhe; in modern Irish, ḡo po roepaib a upnaḡte inn, *May his prayers deliver us*.

RURI ANACHT TRI MACCU AS URNN TENED CO RUADU
RON NAIN AMAL RO ANACHT DAUID DE MANU GOLAI

30

FLAITHEM NIME LOCHARNAIG ARDONROIGSE DIAR TROGI
NAD LEIC SUUM PROFETAM ULLI LEONUM ORI

AMAL POEBES IN AINGEL TARSLAIC PETRUM A SLABREID
DO ROITER DUN DIAR FORTACHT ROP REID REMUNN CECH NAMREID

Gloss.—29. *Ruri*.—i. ρορι [i. Great King]. *Anacht*.—i. po angetcar [i. saved or protected].
31. *Flaithem*.—i. plaich em [i. noble sovereign]. *Locharnaig*.—i. polurca [luminous]. *Ardon-
roigse*.—i. an po anphise [i. may he have mercy]. 34. *Do roiter*.—i. a Deo.

25. *Soter*.—Here our author employs a Greek word, upon which the scholiast has written the following note in the margin of the MS.: “Soter, i. Ebreice, ih̄s, Grece; Salvator, Latine;” where the words “Ebreice” and “Grece” ought to be transposed. *Soerus*.—The relative form of the present indicative active, *who delivers*. The gloss says it is put for the preterite *ro soerastar*, who delivered. *Loth*.—Interpreted in the gloss *declinans*, from St. Jerome, but it really means *velamen*, a veil, or covering. *Qui per secula*.—i. e., the Saviour who lives throughout all ages, and is as able to deliver us now as he was to deliver Lot (cf. 2 Pet. ii. 7), we pray him that he vouchsafe to deliver us all.

27. *Abram*.—Here we have the gloss: “.i. Pater excelsus interpretatur, *Abba* enim pater, *ram*, excelsus. Abraham pater multarum interpretatur, et subintellige gentium.”

27. *De Ur*.—In the margin is the following note on this word: “In Ebreo habetur in Ur Chethisim, i. in igne Caldeorum. Tradunt autem Ebrei ex hac occasione istiusmodi fabulam; quod Abraham in ignem

misus est, quia ignem adorare noluerit, quem Caldei colunt, et Dei auxilio liberatus de idololatriæ igne profugerit: quod in sequentibus scribitur, egressum esse Tharam cum sobole sua de regione Caldeorum; pro quo in ebreo habetur de incendio Caldeorum, et missus est Aram adhuc ante conspectum patris sui Thara in igne Caldeorum, quod videlicet ignem nollens adorare igne consumptus est. Loquitur autem Dominus postea ad Abram dicens, Ego sum qui eduxi te de igne Caldeorum.” These words occur in St. Jerome’s *Quest. Hebraic. in Gen. xi. 28*.

27. *Ronsnada*.—For po e pnaib̄, *he who protected him*.

28. *Soersum*.—The gloss on this word is worthy of notice, as it tells us that the ancient termination *pum* in verbs, instances of which frequently occur in this Hymn, is the pronoun *pinn*, *we*, or *us*. Thus *paoerppam*, may he protect *us*, ver. 2; *ciatipam*, wherever *we* go, ver. 2; *pnaib̄pum*, protect *us*, ver. 11, 27.

29. *Tri maccu*.—Here we find the following note: “.i. Sedrac, Misac, Abdinago, nomina eorum apud Caldeos; Annanias,

Diar fiadat rontolomar nostro opere digno
robem occa im bith bethaib in paradisi regno 35

Amal soeras ionas paith a bru mil moir monar ngle
snaibsiunn deḡ ri tomtach tren sen de bonpe fordonce

Ro fir a fiada ro fir roerthar in guidise
ro bet maccan platha de hi timcuairt na sculese 40

Ro fir a fiada rop fir risam huile sith ino rig
sechroiseb roissam hi plaitn nime cotrissam

Robbem cen es hillethu la hainḡliu im bith bethu
* * * * *

Gloss.—35. *Diarfiadat*.—i. dāp dia maith [to our good God]. *Rontolomar*.—i. rotholt-nagem [we desire]. 38. *Tomtach*.—i. comatichmech [forgiving]. 39. *A fiada*.—i. a de maith [O good God]. *Roerthar*.—i. roepmichir [let it be granted, or performed]. 40. *Maccan*.—i. meiccbecca acbalat pochetop in sanctitate post baptismum [little children who die immediately in holiness after baptism]. 41. *Sith*.—i. celum. 43. *Hillethu*.—i. hi parringe [in expansion, or space].

Azarias, Misael, nomina eorum apud Ebreos. Et in igne misi sunt; quia noluerunt adorare formam Nabodonostor."

30. *Ron nain*.—Quòd nos protegat.

32. *Nadlaic*.—For na do léic: na, the negative relative, "who not;" do léic, now do leig (from leigim, "I leave, or permit"). *Suum profetam*.—Here we have the following note: ".i. Danielelem, qui bis in Babilonia traditus est leonibus, et fuit cum eis in lacu leonum per ebdomadam plenam sine cibo."

33. *Foedes*.—Over this word is the following note: "Herodes Agrippa occidit Jacobum filium Zebedei, et tradidit Petrum iiii. quaternionibus in carcerem ad custodiendum, et liberavit eum Dominus per angelum suum."—Foeder, now paoider, is the historical present of paoidim, *I send*.

36. *Robem*, and in L 43, *robbem*, for co po be inn, i. e., ḡo po be rinn, that we may be: in modern Irish, ḡo paḡamap, ḡo paḡamuib, or ḡo paib rinn.

37. *Jonas*.—We have here this note: ".i. Dolens, sive Columba, interpretatur; filius Amathi et viduæ quam suscitavit Helias quando hospitavit apud eam, fugiens Achab regem in tempore famis."—See St. Jerome's *Præfat. in Jonam*.

43. *Bethu*.—Here an entire line is omitted in the MS., without any mark of omission. In the margin there is a note which has been so injured by the plough of the binder, that it is very obscure. What remains is as follows:—"Lechpanb po, ḡ ipread apail in lechpanb ail occaineḡ diatopacht atip den-galup mapu lechpann cech aī dib do ponpat anuap. No ipread Cholman im-

Reraig faithi cen dibad aingil apstail arð pegab
 tairset li ar nathar nemda ria sluað ndemna diarsenad 45
 sen de

bendacht for erlam patraic connoebaib herenn imme
 bennacht forsín cathrígse ocus for cach píl indí

bennacht for erlam brigið con oðaið herenn impe
 tabraib huile cain forðall bendacht for orðan briðce

Gloss.—44. *Reraig*.—i. porpíg, no nepíg [great kings, or noble kings], i. qui fuerunt ante diluvium. *Cendibad*.—i. in pœna. *Ard fegad*.—i. ip apb pegab [it is a noble sight] angelorum et apostolorum. 45. *Tairset*.—i. huc usque cecinit Colman. 46. *For erlam*.—erlam, i. éir ellam, i. abbúil ellam ppi beanaim pœnca 7 mírbaile [Erlam, i. e. a ready champion, i. e. very ready to perform wonders and miracles]. *Patraic*.—i. for in enlam ar pœtraic [on the patron who is Patrick]. 47. *Indí*.—i. mte [in it].

oppo aonur do pigne in immund co huile 7 poracaib in lechpánn ro ar po ecomlanpaigbia mo chetepnrem ecomlanaigpe re amolab rom; which may be translated: "This is a half stanza, and there is another, viz., the remaining half stanza, lamenting their coming . . . out of the land . . . on account of the plague, if it was half a stanza each of them made all along down. Or it was Colman alone who composed the whole hymn, and he left this half stanza, so that if God should leave him with the loss of his company, His praise should be left deficient by him." The meaning of this last clause seems to be, that if we suppose Colman alone to have composed the hymn, he may have left the stanza deficient designedly, intending to complete it by an expression of thankfulness or praise, if he and his company should escape the pestilence. But if God did not think fit to preserve them, then the intended praises of God must remain unsung. The for-

mer clause is very obscure, because defective. Perhaps the meaning may be, that as each of the scholars made half a stanza, one half stanza would necessarily be left deficient, if the number of scholars should be diminished [by the plague]. At all events it is evident that the defect is an original one, and was so regarded by the ancient scholiast, who has in this note given us his explanation of it.

45. *Sen De*.—These are the words with which the hymn begins, placed here as a sort of colophon, according to a custom already noticed at p. 23 above. The gloss here shows that this was understood by the scholiast to have been the end of the original Hymn, as it says "Huc usque cecinit Colman;" and indeed the remainder bears evident marks of having been added at a later age. See note on line 51, p. 136, *infra*.

50. *Columcilla*.—The gloss on this line is an explanation of the reason why Colum received the appellation of Colum-

bendacht for columcille connoebaib alban alla
for anmain adamnan ain rola cain fors na clanna

for poesam rig na ndula comairche nachan bera
in spirut noeb ronbroena criost ronsoera ronsena
sen de

Opent pro nobis sancti illi in celis, quorum memoriam facimus in terris, ut deleantur delicta nostra per invocationem sancti nominis tui ihu, qui miserere qui regnas in secula seculorum. Amen.

GLOS.—50. *Colum.*—i. collum ap a buiceót dictus est [he is called Collum (Columba), from his harmlessness]. *Cille.*—i. quia frequenter veniebat ad Uapú nchill, .i. acelaig dubh glaire quia a ab campum pro ciuitate ueniet l ene et uicebant expectem [cil]le inde dicitur [ert]. *Alban.*—i. pro mur anar [by the sea on the east].

cille, or Colum of the Church. It is so obliterated, that nothing can be read with certainty, except the words above given, which suffice to show that the substance of the note was the same with that given in Irish by the annotator of the Feilire of Aengus (in the *Leabhar Breac*) at the 9th June, in these words:—Colum pro simplicitate eius dicitur etc. Cille .i. ap chiachtain comenice on cill in po leg a palmu h comail na lenab comocur. baheab aobertarren etappu, in canic ap Colum becní on chill .i. o Thelaig Dubhglairrí hí Tír Lugoach i Cinel Conaill. “He was called *Colum* (a dove), for his simplicity, and *Cille* (of

the Church), from his coming frequently from the church in which he read his Psalms, into the company of the neighbouring children; and they used to say then amongst themselves, ‘Has our little Colum come from the church’ (cill), i. e., from Tulach Dubhglaisse in Lugaidh’s territory in Cinel Conail.” TulachDubhglaisse [now Templedouglass, near Kilmacrenan] was the name of the church in which St. Columcille was baptized.—O’Donnell, *Vit. S. Columba*, lib. i. c. 25 (apud Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.* p. 393).—See Adamnan’s *Life of St. Columba*, edited by Dr. Reeves, Append. to Preface, p. lxx., lxxi., notes ^t and ^u.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

Translation of the Scholiast's Preface and of the Hymn.

THE following is a literal translation of the Preface, and of the foregoing Hymn :

Sen be. Colman, Mac Uí Cluasaigh, Reader of Cork, composed this Hymn, to protect himself from the *buidhechair* [yellow pestilence], which was [prevalent] in the reign of the sons of Aedh Slane^a. For the people were very numerous in Erin at that time; and so great were their numbers, that the land could afford but thrice nine ridges to each man in Erin, viz., nine of bog, nine of field, and nine of wood; therefore the noblemen of Erin fasted along with the sons of Aedh Slane, with Fechin^b of Fabhar, and with Aileran^c, and with Manchan of Liath^d, and with very many besides, for the reduction of the population, because of

^a *The sons of Aedh Slane*.—Diarmaid and Blathmac, the sons of Aedh Slane, reigned conjointly from A. D. 658 to 664, in which last year they died of the great pestilence (*Four Masters. Keating. O'Flaherty*). On the history of this pestilence see Dr. O'Connor's note on the *Annals of Tighernach, Rev. Hib. Script.* vol. ii. p. 204.

^b *Fechin*.—Of Fabhar, or Fore, in the county of Westmeath. See his Life in Colgan, at 20th of Jan., *Actt. SS.*, p. 130.

^c *Aileran*.—This word is somewhat obscure in the MS.; but I think I have correctly deciphered it. Aileran was of the celebrated school or University of Cluain-iraird, now Clonard, in the county of Meath, and was surnamed *Eagnaibhe*, or The Wise. Fleming, or his Editor, Sirinus, has published Aileran's "Interpretatio mystica progenitorum D. Jesu Christi," from a MS. in the Monastery of St. Gall: *Collectan. Sacr.* p. 182, sq.; and Colgan attributes to him the Life of Patrick, which stands fourth in his collection; *Trias Thaum.*, p. 35.

^d *Manchan of Liath*.—The Annals of Tighernach call him Bishop of Liath, now Liath-Manchain, or Lemanaghan, in the King's County; a place which was originally called *Tuaim nEirc*, or Erc's Tumulus (*Four Masters*, A. D. 645). The word *Liath*, (or Leigh, which is the genitive form of *Liath*), signifies gray, or boggy land. The following interesting mention of St. Manchan occurs in the Martyrology of Donegal at January 24:—*Manchán leth, mac lnbairge. Mella amh a mhatar 7 a beirí beirbhecar .i. Dnella 7 Dneillrech. Adá a eaglaib dparab amh liat Manchán, no leit Manchán, a ndéalbna meo Cooldán. Adá a cairí uirín mbaile ceona i ropín adá ar na cumhad go beirrgaighe le clárab don leit arciú 7 ó úna don leit amuig bíbren ar na pionnaib go no beirrgaighe.* "Manchan of Liath, the son of Indaigh [*filius Indaigh*, Colgan, *Actt. SS.*, p. 330, n. 6]. Mella was the name of his mother. His two sisters were Grella and Grellseach. His church, which is named Liath Man-

the scarcity of food, which was the consequence of their great numbers. And it was on that account that the *buidhechair* was sent upon them: so that the sons of Aedh Slane died of it in that year, also the learned men above mentioned, et alii multi.

Some say that it was Colman composed the whole of it. Other people say that he composed but two stanzas of it only, and that the school* made the rest, i. e., each man of them made each a half stanza.

It was composed in Cork, in the time of the two sons of Aedh Slane, viz., Blathmac and Diarmaid. And this was the occasion on which it was composed: a great plague that was sent upon the men of Erin, viz., the *buidhe connail* [or yellow plague], which pervaded all Erin, and left only one out of every three persons alive in Erin; and it was to save them [i. e., the survivors], with his own school, from that pestilence, that Colman composed this Hymn. And the place where he happened to compose it was in the course of his voyage to a certain island of the sea of Erin, flying abroad from this pestilence, until there were nine waves between him and the land, for the plague did not extend further, as the learned relate. And a certain man of the school of Colman asked what blessing there was for them, in search of which they had set out on that journey. Then Colman said, "What blessing dost thou need," said he, "but The blessing of God?" For what they desired was to go out upon the islands of the sea, to escape from the distemper.

THE blessing of God come upon us; may the Son of Mary cover us;
May He protect us this night, wherever we go though great our numbers.

WHETHER at rest or in motion; whether sitting or standing;
The King of Heaven be against every assault; this is the supplication that we offer up.

THE Prayer of Abel, son of Adam, of Heli and Enoch, be our help;
May they free us from the sudden pestilence, whatsoever part of the world it threatens.

NOE, and Abraham; Isaac, the admirable son;
May they come around us against the pestilence, that we come not to trouble.

chain, or Leith Manchain, is in Delbhna Mec Cochain. His relics are in the same place, in a shrine that is beautifully ornamented, with boards in the inside, and bronze on the outside of them, and splendidly carved." This remarkable shrine still exists. It is preserved in the Roman Catholic chapel at Lemanachain, although the relics of the saint have long since disappeared from it. It is greatly mutilated; but enough remained to enable

Dr. Carte, of the Royal Dublin Society, to make a model of it in electrotpe, which was exhibited in the Antiquarian Department of the Dublin Exhibition in 1853. This beautiful model is now in the possession of John Lentsaigne, Esq., of Dublin.

* *The school*—i. e. the school over which he presided, or his scholars. See note on line 43, *supra*.

† *The blessing of God*.—Alluding to the words with which the Hymn begins.

I BESEECH the father of thrice four persons, and Joseph the illustrious ;
May their prayers to the noble King of many angels deliver us. 10

MAY Moses the good leader protect us, who protected in crossing the Red Sea ;
Jesus ; Aaron son of Amra ; David the bold youth.

JOB, with his diseases, protect us against the poison :
The prophets of the Lord guard us, with the seven sons of Maccabæus.

JOHN the Baptist we name ; be he our covering, be he our protection : 15
Jesus, with His Apostles, be our help against danger.

MARY, Joseph, guard us, and the spirit of Stephen ;
Out of every difficulty may it deliver us, to invoke the name of Ignatius.

EVERY Martyr, every Hermit, every Saint who was in chastity,
Be a shield to us, for our defence ; be an arrow from us against demons. 20

REGEM regum rogamus, in nostris sermonibus,
Who saved Noe and his company, diluvii temporibus.

MELCHISEDECH, rex Salem, incerto de semine,
May his prayers deliver us ab omni formidine.

THE Saviour who delivered Lot from the fire, qui per secula habetur, 25
Ut nos omnes, precamur, liberare dignetur.

ABRAM from Ur of the Chaldees ; may the Lord who protected him protect us ;
May He save us, who saved the people, when in want of *lympa fontis*.

THE Lord, who delivered the three youths from the oven of red fire,
Deliver us, as he delivered David de manu Goliæ. 30

9. *The father*.—"The father of thrice four," viz., Israel, the father of the twelve patriarchs.

10. *To the noble King*, i. e. their prayers addressed to the noble King.

18. *May it deliver us*, i. e. may the invocation of the name of Ignatius deliver us.

21. *In nostris*.—The Gloss on the original of this passage gives two interpretations of it—either "in our vernacular Scottish or Irish language," in *Scot-*

ica lingua ; or "in this our hymn," in *sermonibus hujus hymni*. As the original is here partly Irish and partly Latin, I have translated the Irish only, leaving the Latin lines as they stand in the text.

23. *Incerto*.—Alluding to Heb. vii. 3.

28. *Lympha fontis*.—Num. xx. 2, sq.

29. *Red fire*.—Literally, "from a furnace, or oven, of fire with redness: "Ceciderunt in medio camino ignis ardentis colligati."—Dan. iii. 23.

THE noble Sovereign of the brilliant heaven, may He have mercy on our misery :
Who did not leave suum prophetam ulli leonum ori.

LIKE as He sent the Angel to deliver Peter from his chains ;
So may He send to us for our relief : may He make smooth for us, whatsoever
is not smooth.

TO our Lord we submit our will, nostro opere digno,
That we may be with Him in eternal life, in Paradisi regno. 35

AS He delivered Jonas the prophet from the whale's belly—great deed,
The good King grant us powerful protection; the blessing of God come upon us.

MAY it be true, O Lord, may it be true, that this prayer be granted ;
That the children of God's kingdom may be around this School. 40

MAY it be true, O Lord, that it become true, that we all reach the peace of the King,
That wherever we go, or arrive, we may reach the Kingdom of Heaven.

THAT we be without age, in endless space, with angels, in life eternal.
* * * * *

PATRIARCHS, Prophets, without fail, Angels, Apostles, glorious vision !
Come they with our Heavenly Father ; against hosts of demons to bless us. 45
SEN DE.

A BLESSING upon the Patron Patrick, with the saints of Erin around him :
A blessing upon this city, and upon every one that is therein.

34. *Not smooth*.—Literally, "May every roughness [everything that is not smooth, *cech n-am-perib*] be made smooth before us."

37. *Whale's belly*.—Literally, "From the belly of the great animal," *mfl*, or *mfol*, *mórl*, is the name still given to a whale both in Ireland and in Scotland.

40. *Children of God's kingdom*, i.e. the angels. A different interpretation is given in the Gloss, viz. the spirits of children who die after baptism, before the commission of actual sin.

43. *Without age*, i.e. without growing old.—

Endless space: literally, in broadness, or expansion. *lhi* [for *i*. in] *léchu*, breadth, extent, glossed by *parpinge*, *space*, *expansion*, *room*.

44. *Glorious vision*.—Literally, "high-seeing," *apb-peḡab*: which perhaps may mean that angels and apostles behold us from on high.

45. *Come*, i.e. may they come: *capret* is the 3rd person plural. *Protect us*.—Literally, "be for our blessing," or "protection," *ḍiap*, now *ḍ'ap*, i.e. *ḍo ap*, for our, *pénab*, blessing.

46. *The Patron*.—The word translated *patron*

A BLESSING upon the Patron Brigid, with the virgins of Erin around her,
Give ye all, without guile, a blessing upon the dignity of Brigid.

A BLESSING on Colum-cille, with the saints of Alba along with him, 50
On the soul of the pure Adamnan, who put a law on the clans.

UPON the protection of the King of the Elements, a guardianship from which we
cannot be taken,

May the Holy Ghost inspire us ; may Christ deliver us ; may He bless us.

SEN DE.

ORIENT pro nobis sancti illi in cœlis, quorum memoriam facimus in terris, ut deleantur delicta nostra per invocationem sancti nominis tui Jesu, et miserere, qui regnas in secula seculorum. Amen.

¹s eplam, which originally, perhaps, signified noble, but is now applied to the saint who is regarded as a patron. The verses which follow from line 46 to the end formed no part of the original Hymn, which ended at line 45, as is evident from the repetition of the first words, Sen De, according to a practice that has been already noticed. See p. 23.

47. *This city*, i.e. this monastery: the place in which these additional verses were added. Thus the Annals of Ulster (A. D. 806) record the foundation of the Columbian monastery of Kells in these words: "Constructio novæ civitatis Columbæcille in Ceninnua." It is in this sense the word is used in the Hymn of St. Mugint, vv. 2 and 5 (pp. 95, 96 *supra*), a fact which was overlooked when the note, p. 95, was written.

49. *Dignity*.—So the word *opban* is explained

in several ancient Glossaries. *Opban* .i. *uapal* *ḡnað*, "a noble degree, or dignity" (MS. H. 3, 8, p. 550, Trin. Coll. Dubl.) *Opban* .i. *uapal* *ut epc* *ḡapuḡað* *opban* .i. *ḡapuḡað* *m uapal*—"a noble person, as, to violate an *ordan*, is to violate (or insult) a noble person."—*O'Davoren, Gloss.*

50. *Along with him*.—*Alle*, now *imaille*.

51. *A law*.—*Cain*, a rule, precept, commandment, from *canon*. This is a remarkable allusion to the *Cain Adamnain* (canon, or code of laws drawn up by Adamnan), so frequently mentioned in the Annals and Brehon Laws; and proves that these last four stanzas must have been added in or after the eighth century. For the *Cain Adamnain* was compiled A. D. 697, and Adamnan died A. D. 704. See *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, edited by Dr. Reeves, p. 178, and note ¹.

VI. THE HYMN OF ST. CUCHUIMNE.

THE following Hymn has been published by Mone, in his *Hymni Latini Medii Ævi* (vol. ii. p. 383), from a collation of three MSS. The first is that preserved at Bâle, of which some account has already been given, p. 55, *supra*. The second is a MS. of the ninth century, in an Irish hand, now at Karlsruhe. The third is a MS. of the eighth century, according to Mone's judgment, also preserved at Karlsruhe, and written in a French hand. Both these Karlsruhe MSS. belonged formerly to the monastery of Reichenau.

The readings of these MSS. are given in the notes: those of the Bâle MS. are denoted by the letter B.; and those of the two Karlsruhe MSS. in the order in which they are spoken of above, by the letters K. and R. The MS. B. has been collated by the Editor himself; but the readings of K. and R. are given on the authority of Mone.

None of these MSS. have the introductory Scholium or Preface, which is now for the first time printed, from the Dublin *Liber Hymnorum*; but in the Codex R. we find the title "*Himnus Sanctæ Mariæ*."

How far we can depend upon Mone's judgment in the opinion he has given of the age of these MSS. seems doubtful; for he assigns the Bâle MS. to the eighth century, which is at least a century, if not two centuries, older than the true date, so far as the Greek Psalter is concerned: and he does not seem to have observed that the Hymn *Cantemus* has been written in a hand of about two centuries' later date. Those who are not accustomed to Irish MSS. are very naturally disposed to make them older than they really are, because the Irish scribes retained the old forms of handwriting much longer than Continental transcribers.

The Scholium prefixed to the Hymn identifies the author of it with the "Cuchuimne sapiens," who is said by our Annalists to have died early in the

eighth century ; and the age of the MSS. in which the Hymn has been found confirms the high antiquity thus ascribed to it. In the Additional Note B the Editor has collected all that he has been able to discover of the history of Cuchuimne.

The classical reader will not form a high idea of our author's skill in Latin prosody. The following anomalies may be taken as specimens :—*Cantēmus*, line 1 ; *Utēro*, line 8 ; *Extētīt*, line 10 ; *Humāne*, line 12 ; *Mulī-erem*, lines 13, 14 ; *Loricam*, line 21 ; *Piræ, dīræ*, line 24.



CANTEMUS in omni die. Cuchumne fecit hunc ċmnum do molab Maípe oge. In aimpín imorpo loingíng meico Oengura ĳ Adamnam factur ert. Inceptum ert uero in quo loco eum fecit. Íre po chunn abenna dia roepab ap in bpooh bea-chaib ip pabai. quia coniugem habuit, ĳ in mala uita cum illa fuit. no commab do pechigub nemi an eich na bpoacht leip dia legund do ġnech immolabpa do Maípe.

Uc Adamnan dixit:

Cuchumne [Cuchumne], Ro leg ruche co bpuinne,
Allech aile apata, Ro leic ap a chaillecha.

Cuchumne dixit:

Cuchumne [Cuchumne], Ro leg ruche co bpuinne,
Allech aile apata, Legpaib leicpib caillecha.

Uel,

Allech naile apabcu, Legpaib huile conop fui.

Ure nichim dan fecit. ĳ xii. coibcil ann, ĳ ba lne in cech coibcil, ĳ xii. pillaba cech lne.



CANTEMUS IN OMNI DIE CONCINENTES VARIE
CONCLAMANTES DEO DIGNUM ċMNUM SANCTAE MARIAE
IS PER CHORUM HINC ET INDE COLLAUDEMUS MARIAM
UT VOX PULSET OMNEM AUREM PER LAUDEM VICARIAM
MARIA DE TRIBU IUDAE SUMMI MATER DOMINI
OPORTUNAM DEDIT CURAM EGROTANTI HOMINI

Gloss.—1. *Varie*.—i. infer duos choros. 2. *Maria*.—Maria stilla maris interpretatur; et significat ecclesiam inventam in amaritudine seculi.

1. *Concinentes*.—Concinantes, B. Con-
cinnantes variæ, B. R.

2. *Mariæ*.—See the note, p. 126, *supra*.

3. *Chorum*.—Corum, B. The ancient
custom of alternate singing is here alluded

to. 4. *Collaudemus*.—Collaudamus, B.
Conlaudamus, K. Conlaudemus, R.

5. *Judæ*.—Juda, B. *Summi*.—Summa,
B. R.

6. *Egrotanti*.—This seems an allusion

Γabriel abuexit uerbum sinu patris paterno
 quod conceptum et susceptum in utero materno
haec est summa haec est sancta uirgo uenerabilis
 quae ex fide non recessit sed exstetit stabilis 10
huic matri nec inuenta ante nec post similis
 nec de prole fuit plane humanae originis
per mulierem et lignum mundus prius perit
 per mulieris uirtutem ad salutem rediit
maria mater miranda patrem suum edidit 15
 per quem aqua late lotus totus mundus credidit
haec concepit margaretam non sunt uana somnia
 pro qua sani cristiani uendunt sua omnia

GLOSS.—7. *Verbum*.—i. annuntiationem uerbi, .i. ave maria plena gratia. 8. *Conceptum*.—i. di-
 uina operantis potentia credentis viscera fecundantur. 13. *Lignum*.—i. prevaricationis. 15. *Patrem*.—
 .i. omnium creator de creatura sua procreatur. Fons uitae de riuulo suo oritur. Uitis uera de uirgultu
 suo nascitur, et in ligno mortali arbor uitae inseritur, et porta in se uirtus ab infirmis portatur.
 17. *Margaretam*.—i. Christum.

to some legend, unless we take *homini* to signify mankind in general.

7. *Patris*.—Prius, B. R. An obvious error. *Paterno*.—Paternæ, R.

8. *Utero*.—The second syllable is here long.

9. *Quæ*.—Hæc fide, R.

10. *Exstetit*.—The second syllable is long.

11. *Huic*.—This word is here a dissyllable. *Matri*.—Matre, R. *Inuenta*.—Inuentam, R.

12. *Prole*.—Flore, R. *Plane*.—Plana, R. *Humane originis*.—This appears strange language, not very consistent with the doctrine of the Incarnation, if we are to take the words in their literal meaning—that the Blessed Virgin was not of mere

human nature (*plane*). The preceding line is not unlike the words of St. Anselm, quoted by Mone: “Nihil est æquale Mariæ, nihil nisi Deus majus Maria.”—*Opp. S. Anselmi, Orat.* 51. [*Ed. Bened. Paris.* 1721, p. 281, col. 1. E.]

15. *Maria*.—This stanza, vv. 15, 16, is omitted by B. *Patrem suum*.—So in the Hymn beginning *Dies læta celebratur* (Daniel. *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, vol. ii. p. 212) there is the same idea:—

“Nova prorsus genitura
 Creatorem creatura
 Patrem parit filia.”

16. *Lotus*.—Lota, R.

17. *Margaretam*.—Margaritam, B. *Hæc*.—Quæ, R. Mone erroneously gives *Quæ* as the reading of B.

TONICAM per totum textam cristi mater pecerat
 quae peracta cristi morte sorte statim steterat 20

INduamus arma lucis lorica[m] et galeam
 ut simus deo precepti suscepti per mariam

AMEN amen adiuramus merita puerperae
 ut non possit flamma pirae nos dirae decipere

Gloss.—19. *Tonicam*.—Conspiciunt hinc inde imbricant [a suitable, long tunic]. *Totum*.—i. corpus. *Textam*.—i. con uam and etip [without any seam in it at all]. 20. *Sorte*.—i. sine partitione. 21. *Lorica*.—Lorica dicta eo quod loris caret. 23. *Amen*.—i. vere, vel fideliter. *Puerpera*.—i. puerum pariens in etate pueri, id est in decimo vel in xi. 24. *Pirae*.—i. e. in nabriat ghanra [the ugly torch].

19. *Tonicam*.—Tunicam, K. Matt. Paris. *Hist. Angl.* p. 80, mentions this tradition: "A. D. M. CLVI. in pago Parisiacensi, monasterio Argentillo, revelatione divina, tunica Salvatoris inconsutilis et subconfusci coloris reperta est, quam sicut literae cum ea repertae indicabant, gloriosa Mater ejus fecerat ei dum adhuc puer esset." Other authorities tell us that it was found in a village called Zaphah, not far from Jerusalem, A. D. 593, in the time of Pope Gregory I. See Jo. Iperii *Chron. S. Bertini*, part iii. (ap. Martene et Durand. *Thes. Anecd.* tom. iii. 451 E.), and *Brevia aliquot Chronica* (*ibid.* 1391. C.). But these Chronicles make no mention of any letters found with it, or of its having been wrought by the hands of the B. Virgin. Neither is that tradition mentioned by Adamnan in his Tract *De locis sanctis*; but it is adopted by Baronius (*Annal.* A. D. 34, n. cxii.), Benedict XIV. (*De Festis Domini*, I. vii. 91. *Opp. tom. ix.* p. 82), and many other theologians. The earliest writer quoted for this tradition is Euthymius Zygabenus, who says: "Hanc

vero tunicam e traditione patrum accepimus opus fuisse Dei Matris a superioribus partibus contextam, veluti sunt apud nos capitis aut pedum hyemalia operimenta."—*Comment. in Quat. Evang.* in Matt. xxvii. 35 (*Bibl. Patr. Lugdun.*, tom. xix. p. 588, E.). This author flourished at the beginning of the twelfth century; so that the present Hymn is a much older authority. *Totum*.—Totam, B. *Christi*.—Christo, K.

21. *Lorica*.—Luricam, B. Lurica, R. *Et galeam*.—Vicariæ, R.

22. *Precepti*.—Perfecti, B.

23. *Adjuramus*.—Adoramus, K. Adoremus, R. In R. the last two stanzas are reduced to one; thus:

"Amen, amen, adoremus, angelis sub testibus,
 Ut fruamur et scribamur litteris coelestibus;"

the intervening clauses being omitted. *Puerperas*.—The gloss on this word seems to allude to the legend in the *Evangelium de Nativ. Mariæ*, the *Protevangelium Jacobi*, &c., that Mary was dedicated to God at three years of age, and lived in the temple until ten or eleven years old.

Χ̅π̅ι nomen inuocemus angelis sub testibus
ut fruamur et scripamur literis celestibus.

25

CANTEMUS.

Sanctae Mariae meritum imploramus dignissimum
ut meriamur polum habitare altissimum.

Gloss.—26. *Literis*.—i. in memoria Dei.24. *Decipere*.—Decerpere, B.

26. *Scripamur*.—Scribamur, B. The gloss on this verse intimates, that to be written “literis celestibus” signifies that we are written in the memory of God.

27. *Sanctæ Mariæ*.—It is evident that in these lines (omitted in B. and K.) there is a rude rhythm, or assonance, and each line consists of eight syllables :—

“Sanctæ Mariæ meritum
Imploramus dignissimum,
Ut mereamur solium,
Habitare [Habere, B.] altissimum.”

In the Bâle MS. we find here the fol-

lowing Collect, in the later handwriting :—

“Singularis meriti, sola sine exemplo, Mater et Virgo Maria, quam Deus ita mente et corpore custodivit, ut digna existeres ex qua sibi nostræ redemptionis pretium Dei Filius corpus adaptaret; obsecro te misericordissima per quam totus salvatur mundus, intercede pro me spurcissimo, et cunctis iniquitatibus foedo, ut qui ex meis iniquitatibus nil aliud dignus sum quam æternum subire supplicium, tuis Virgo spendidissima salvatus meritis perenne consequar regnum.”

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE A.

The Scholiast's Preface.

THE following is a translation of the Scholium or Preface to this Hymn, which is in the usual mixture of Irish and Latin :—

Cantemus in omni die.—Cuchaimne composed this Hymn in praise of the Virgin Mary. Now it was in the time of Loingsech, son of Oengus^a, and of Adamnan, it was composed. It is uncertain, however, in what place he composed it. This was the reason why he composed it, to deliver himself from the evil life he was leading, quia conjugem^b habuit, et in mala vita cum illa fuit. Or it was to facilitate his progress in what he had not yet completed of his studies, that he made this praise of Mary. As Adamnan said :—

Cuchaimne, [Cuchaimne^c].

Read learned writings half way^d.

The other half of his career

He abandoned for his women.

^a *Loingsech, son of Oengus.*—He was king of Ireland, according to O'Flaherty's Chronology, from A. D. 695 to 704, and was killed in the battle of Corann, county of Sligo, in this latter year. Dr. O'Connor's Tighernach gives 703 as the date of this battle, which, however, ought to be 704, for he adds :—"iv. id. Julii, vi. hora diei Sabbati hoc bellum confectum est." In 704, the 4th of the Ides of July fell on Saturday; in 703 on Thursday: therefore it is evident that Tighernach intended the year 704. The Four Masters give the date 701, which is irreconcilable with the day of the week on which Tighernach (doubtless from some ancient authority) tells us the battle was fought. Adamnan died the same year, 704. Ussher, *Index Chron.*

^b *Conjugem.*—Meaning, it is to be presumed, *Concubinam.* *Vid. Adamnan, Vit. S. Col.* (ed. Reeves), pp. 75-77.

^c *Cuchaimne.*—In the original this word occurs but once; but it was evidently intended to be repeated, as the metre requires; see page 82, *supra*, note ^o. Dr. O'Donovan overlooked this when he printed these verses in his edition of the Four Masters, A. D. 742.

^d *Halfway.*—Co dhruimne is literally "to the ridge," i. e. to the top or ridge of a hill, which is half way across. The meaning is, that Cuchaimne spent one-half of his time in the study of learned authors, or that he had perused one-half of the learned writers, when he abandoned himself to an irregular life.

Cuchimne said [in reply]—

Cuchimne [Cuchimne],
Read learned writings half way.
The other half of his career*
He will read,—he will abandon[†] women.

Or,

The other half of his career—
He will read them all until he becomes a sage.

He composed it in rhythm; and there are thirteen chapters in it; and two lines in each chapter; and twelve syllables in each line.

The verses, here attributed to Adamnan, are transcribed in a hand of the fourteenth century, in the margin of the Dublin MS. of the *Annals of Ulster*, at A. D. 746; but are there attributed, not to Adamnan, but to the *Nurse* of Cuchimne: they are given thus:—

Mume Con-cuimne cecinit:—

Cucumne [Cuchimne],
Ro léḡ fuiti co bpuimne,
Allech naill hianata
Ro leici an óailleá.

An bo Concuimne nombaí,
Impuálaib be conib roí,
Ro leio caillecha ha paill
Ro léig aituill anich mboí.

The Nurse of Cuchimne sang:—

Cuchimne! [Cuchimne!]
He read learned writings half way;
The other half of his career
He abandoned for women.

Happy is it for Cuchimne,
He has gone forward until he has become a sage;
He has abandoned women to neglect;
He has read the other half of his victorious life.

This seems to be a more ancient form of this curious distich than either of the two texts of it which are given above, or than that of the Four Masters, at A. D. 742, which is as follows, with Dr. O'Donovan's translation (the metrical arrangement being corrected to correspond with the above):—

* *Career*.—The word *ḡata* may be the genitive case of *ḡat*, prosperity, increase, progress, advancement; but Dr. O'Donovan has rendered it "career" (*Four Mast.* A. D. 742), taking it to be *ḡata* running, racing;—course, career.

† *He will abandon*.—The play upon the words *ro léḡ* "he read," and *ro leic*, "he abandoned," is evidently the point of the first stanza; and so in

Cuchimne's answer there is a play upon *ro léḡ*, "he read," *léḡpaib*, "he will read," and *léigpaib*, "he will leave, dismiss, or abandon." It is not to be supposed that these verses can be really the composition of Adamnan; and accordingly the Dublin MS. of the *Annals of Ulster* attributes them, not to Adamnan, but to Cuchimne's nurse; showing that he was not known with certainty to be the author.

Cucuimne, [Cuchuimne],
 Ro léig fúiche co bpuimne,
 Allech aile annatha,
 Ro léoc an a chaillecha.

Cuchuimne, [Cuchuimne],
 Read the authors half through;
 The other half of his career
 He abandoned for his hags.

Fhírocap Cucuimne:—

Cucuimne, [Cuchuimne],
 Ro léig fúiche co bpuimne,
 Allech aile annab cun,
 Léigfaib huile copop fú.

Cuchuimne replied:—

Cuchuimne, [Cuchuimne],
 Read the authors half through;
 During the other half of his career
 He will read till he become an adept.

The meaning, however, in all these readings of the couplet is the same: that Cuchuimne, after spending some years in scholar-like study, was seduced into a life of profligacy; but that he at length, on the remonstrance of his friends, abandoned his vices, and resumed with zeal, for the remainder of his life, the studies becoming an ecclesiastic.

The reader will not fail to remark, that there is great internal evidence of truth in this record of the weakness of Cuchuimne. No mere inventor of legends would have narrated such an event in the life of a writer whom he was quoting as the author of a religious Hymn. See the remarks already made on this subject, p. 92, *supra*.

NOTE B.

History of Cuchuimne.

THE information given us in the Preface, or Scholium, prefixed to the Hymn, and translated in the foregoing note, contains nearly all the information we possess respecting Cuchuimne. He is there said to have lived in the reign of Loingseach Mac Aengusa (who was King of Ireland, A. D. 695 to 703), and appears to have survived that monarch some years. The *Annals of Ulster* record his death at the year 746, in these words: "Cu-cumine" [read *Cuchuimne*, as in the Dublin MS.] "sapiens obiit." Tighernach [Dublin MS.] seems to have made the year 747, and gives the obit thus: "Cuimine sapiens obiit." The Four Masters give the date 742, and translate, apparently from the Ulster Annals, thus:—

Cucuimne^a eocnaib coanaib eirib do ecc. "Cuchuimne, he was a choice sage, died."

They then quote the same verses which are given by the Scholiast of the Book of Hymns, attributing them, as that Book does, to Adamnan.

^a *Cuchuimne*.—*Cucuumne* is the reading in Dr. O'Donovan's text, but it seems to be an error of the press; for the MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, reads *Cuchuimne*.

From these verses (see Note A), it appears that Cuchuimne for a time had led an irregular life, "quia conjugem habuit, et in mala vita cum illa fuit." But during the latter part of his life he repented, and the present Hymn may be received as an evidence that his thoughts were sincerely occupied in holy things. His name does not occur in any of the Irish Calendars or Martyrologies, notwithstanding which, Colgan does not hesitate to give him the title of *saint*.

The name Cu-chuimne [signifying *Hound of Memory*^b] is not of frequent occurrence in Irish Church history, although Cummine, Cummeni, Cummain, which are, perhaps, forms of the same name, are more frequent. Colgan^c has given the following account of the author of this Hymn:—"Sanctus Cuchumneus (qui, addito *Mo* more Hibernis familiari, potuit *Mochumneus* appellari), floruit juste tempore Sancti Aidi Sleptensis, anno 698 mortui. Hic enim in laudem Deiparæ Virginis composuit Hymnum, penes me extantem, qui incipit;

' *Canemus in omni die, concinnantes variè,
Conclamantes Deo dignum hymnum S. Mariae.*

Et ut colligitur ex argumento eidem Hymno præfixo, author floruit tempore Adamnani Abbatis, et Longseici Hiberniæ Regis, qui cœpit regnare anno 694. Vixit tamen postea usque ad annum 746, quo Annales Ultonienses referunt *Cucumneum Sapientem* obiisse; vel saltem usque ad annum 724 [read 742], in quem ejus mortem referunt Quatuor Magistri in Annalibus."—*Ir. Thaum.*, p. 218, b. This, however, the reader will perceive, gives us no information beyond what we have already gleaned from the authorities cited above: and Colgan has suppressed all mention of Cuchuimne's irregular life, although he declares him to have been contemporary with Adamnan, to whom the verses rebuking that irregularity are, in the Book of Hymns, ascribed. He must, therefore, have seen those verses.

NOTE C.

Maria Stilla Mariae.

THE Gloss on the name *Maria* (ver. 2, p. 139, *supra*, and also in the preceding Hymn, ver. 17, p. 126), interprets the name as signifying in Hebrew "*Stilla maris*," from מֵרַ, a drop, and יָם, the sea. See above, p. 126, note.

^b *Hound of Memory*.—"Hound" was an honourable title amongst the ancient Irish. The name may perhaps be equivalent to the mediæval name *Memorius*, or *Memorianus*.

^c *Colgan*.—Harris (Ware's *Writers of Ireland*, p. 46) has mistaken this passage of Colgan. Colgan does not identify *Mocuthenius* with the author of this Hymn, nor does he say "that Ussher had

mistaken the name." He was speaking of the *Maccuthenius*, or *Mochucumneus*, who is said to have written *Acts of St. Patrick*; and he says that, allowing for the Irish custom of prefixing *Mo*, my, to the names of saints, there are two or three saints whose names are mentioned in Irish history (of whom our author is one), any one of whom may have been the biographer of St. Patrick.

Nothing is more common in the orthography of Irish MSS. of the eighth and following centuries, than to find *e* for *i*, as *ancella*, for *ancilla*; *antestes*, for *antistes*, &c.; and also *i* for *e*, as *adoliscens*, *bibliothica*, &c. (see Reeves' *Prof. to Adamnan's Life of Columba*, pp. xvi. xvii.) And in the present case it seems almost certain that the ancient authors who devised this etymology for the Hebrew proper name *Miriam*, (which was Latinized *Maria*), intended *Stilla maris*, "a drop of the sea," and not *stella*, "a star of the sea;" the former having some foundation in Hebrew, the latter none. And the common confusion in the orthography of the period, together with the general ignorance of Hebrew, has led to the popular adoption of the more poetical designation of "star," instead of "drop," of the sea. Modern writers, although they very generally explain this allusion to *the sea*, as if *Maria* was derived from the Latin *Mare*, by a further confusion, leave *stella* unexplained. See Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, tom. i. p. 205. There can be little doubt, therefore, that St. Jerome, when he interprets *Miriam*, "*Stella maris*" (see the passage quoted above, p. 126), wrote and meant *stilla*, "a drop of the sea," and that *stella* is a mistake of his transcribers or editors. Nevertheless, this error has prevailed, and is adopted in many ecclesiastical hymns in use at the present day; e. g. in the celebrated one—"Ave maris stella, Dei Mater alma," which is still retained in the Roman Breviary. And so also in the Hymn beginning—"Salve Mater Salvatoris" (Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, tom. ii. p. 83) we have the lines—

"O Maria, stella maris, Dignitate singularis,
Super omnes ordinaria, Ordines coelestium."

And the same interpretation is given to the name by almost all mediæval writers, of whom it may suffice to quote St. Bernard (in *Homil. ii. super Missus est*, n. 17)—"Loquamur pauca" (he says) "super hoc nomine, quod interpretatum *Maris stella* dicitur, et Matri Virgini valde convenienter aptatur. Ipsa namque aptissime sideri comparatur," &c.—*Opp. Ed. Bened.*, iii. p. 742.

Nevertheless, the word *stilla* was known to these writers as signifying "a drop," which is evident from the Hymn beginning "O felicem genitricem" (Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, ii. p. 205), in which these lines occur:—

"O mamilla cujus stilla fuit ejus pabulum,
Qui dat terræ fructum ferre, pascit omne sæculum."

It may be observed, that in the interpretations of proper names given in the ancient Irish Gospels called the Book of Kells and the Book of Durrow, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, *Maria* is explained *stilla* (not *stella*) *maris*. We have, likewise, "*Maria stilla maris*," *Book of Armagh*, fol. 32, aa. See also line 14 of the following Hymn, where we read, "Tunc magi *stellam* secuti," showing that the scribe of the Book of Hymns did not confound *stilla* and *stella*.

VII. THE HYMN OF ST. HILARY IN PRAISE OF CHRIST.

THIS Hymn was first published by George Cassander, who says that he found it in an ancient volume which contained the rule of St. Benedict, and several Hymns¹. He notes it "incerto auctore."

It occurs also in the *Antiphonarium Benchorensse*, and has been printed by Muratori² from that MS.

It has also been reprinted recently, from the text of Cassander, by Daniel, in his *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, vol. i. p. 191.

In the Bangor Antiphonary this Hymn stands first, with the title "*Hymnum* S. Hilarii de Christo."

The Preface in the Book of Hymns, now for the first time published, expressly names St. Hilary of Poitiers, and the authority of these two ancient MSS. is sufficient to prove that the tradition of the Irish Church attributed the authorship of the Hymn to that prelate.

Bede³ quotes this Hymn in his Tract *De arte metrica* (cap. 23), and gives the first two lines as an example of the "Metrum Trochaicum tetrametrum;" he ascribes it to no author, but simply styles it "*Hymnus ille pulcherrimus*," as if it was then well known.

If the Hymn had been the composition of so celebrated a personage as

¹ "*Hymus*.—Repertum in vetustissimo libro Benedicti regulam cum hymnis continente, unde et plerisque alios desumpsimus."—*Hymni Ecclesiast.* (Opp., Paris, 1616 fol.) p. 186.

² *Muratori*.—See above, p. 7.

³ *Hymnum*.—Muratori, in his transcript of the Bangor MS., gives *Hymnum* throughout as a neuter nominative. This, no doubt, is a

mistake, arising from his not understanding the contraction "*Hymn3*," which is *Hymnus*. His want of familiarity with Irish MSS. has led him into several similar errors, and there is reason to think that he has altered the ancient original spelling of the MS. to bring it into conformity with the received orthography.

⁴ *Bede*.—See Additional Note at the end of this Hymn.

Hilary of Poitiers, it is not likely that Bede could have been ignorant of the fact, or, knowing it, that he would have omitted to name the author, inasmuch as he gives frequently the names of the authors of the hymns he quotes, such as Sedulius, Prudentius, St. Ambrose, Paulinus, &c., many of them obscure, when compared with St. Hilary of Poitiers.

It is to be observed, also, that the Hymn seems to contain allusions to a monastic society, and if so, cannot have been the composition of an author who lived before the institution of the cœnobitic life in the Western Church. For instance, the first line, "*Hymnum dicat turba fratrum*;" line 65, "*Ante lucem turba fratrum concinemus gloriam*;" and line 71, "*Ante lucem decantantes*."

It may be said that "*turba fratrum*" does not necessarily imply a society of "friars," in the modern sense of the word. For in the Hymn¹ "*Lauda Syon Salvatorem*," attributed to St. Thomas Aquinas, we have the lines:—

"Quem in sacræ mensæ cœnæ
Turbæ fratrum duodenæ
Datum non ambigitur."

where *Turbæ fratrum* evidently signify the twelve Apostles; but St. Thomas may have adopted the phraseology of a later age, wherein the Apostles were not unfrequently spoken of as a sort of monastic confraternity; and the passages of the present Hymn, above referred to, plainly speak of a *Turba fratrum* living together, and rising before the dawn, to sing together the praises of God, in evident allusion to a monastic society.

On the other hand, the fourth Council of Toledo² (A. D. 633) speaks of hymns at that time in use in the Church, "*quos beati Doctores Hilarius et Ambrosius ediderunt*;" so that there were hymns³ then attributed to, or

¹ *Hymn*.—Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnologic.*, vol. ii. p. 97.

² *Toledo*.—Can. 13 (Hardouin, Concil., tom. iii. 583 D).

³ *Hymns*.—It would seem that there was then a feeling in the Spanish Church not unlike that of the modern English Puritans; for the canon of the Council of Toledo here referred to is directed against some who objected to use in the Church service hymns

which were not to be found in the Scriptures, nor of apostolic tradition: "*quos [hymnos] tamen quidem specialiter reprobant, pro eo quod de Scripturis sanctorum canonum, vel apostolica traditione non existunt*." The Council answers, that the same objection would apply to the prayers, collects, and the whole liturgy of the Church, and therefore concludes, "*excommunicatione plectendi qui hymnos rejicere fuerint ausi*."—*ubi supra*.

known to be the composition of St. Hilary,¹ which are no longer known as such; and St. Jerome expressly mentions a *Liber Hymnorum*, by St. Hilary, as extant in his time². This, however, would only render it more probable that a hymn, whose author was unknown, should be attributed to an author who was known to have composed hymns, and whose name stood high in the Church. There is, therefore, in the fact that St. Hilary wrote hymns, nothing to weaken the force of the arguments above alluded to; especially when we observe that the style of the present Hymn is rude and unpolished, and in no way similar to that of St. Hilary's acknowledged writings³.

The Legend recorded in the Scholiast's Preface⁴ seems to connect the Hymn with Hilary of Arles, who flourished in the middle of the fifth century, rather than with Hilary of Poitiers. For in his time the monastic life had begun in the West, and he is said to have crossed the Alps on foot, in order to plead his cause before Pope Leo⁵.

Be this, however, as it may, it is not to be doubted that the present Hymn is a composition of great antiquity. Its doctrine is throughout in accordance with that of the primitive Church, and its language and diction are consistent with an early date. It may probably be assigned to the fifth or sixth century.

¹ *S. Hilary*.—Isidore, Bishop of Seville, tells us that St. Hilary, of Poitiers, was the first Christian author of hymns: "Sunt autem Divini Hymni, sunt et ingenio humano compositi. Hilarius, autem, Gallus, Episcopus Pictaviensis, eloquentia conspicuus, carmine floruit primus. Post quem Ambrosius Episcopus, vir magnæ gloriæ in Christo, et in ecclesia clarissimus doctor," &c.—Isidor. Hispal., *De Officiis*, l. c. 6, n. 2 (*Opp.* ed. Arevalo, tom. vi. p. 369. Romæ, 1802).

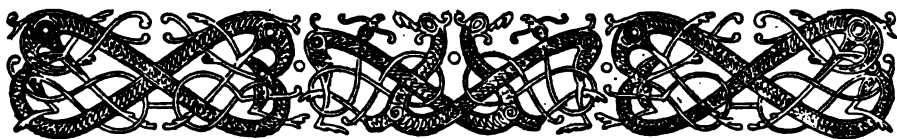
² *In his time*.—*De viris illustr.*, c. 100 (*Opp.*

tom. ii. ed. Vallarsii).

³ *Writings*.—This seems to have been Muratori's opinion, for in his preface to the *Antiphonarium Benchorense* he says: "At in Hymno nunc a nobis producto majorem fortasse elegantiam desiderabunt nonnulli, ut eum S. Hilario adscribant."—*Opere* (Arezzo, 1770), tom. xi. part 3, p. 222.

⁴ *Preface*.—See p. 162, *infra*.

⁵ *Pope Leo*.—See Tillemont, *Mémoires*, tom. xv. p. 72 (*Vie de S. Hilaire*, art. 15), and the authorities there quoted.



ŒMNUM DICAT. hilariur Epircopur 7 princeps ciuitatis que dicitur Pictaur
fecit hunc Œmnum Chriſto in monte Garſani, iap comale na prainne illuc
itegdair ind latrand. Ocur iap na elugub buide do Dia no chinſat in meis
bſchaid porſ conarbat mo quam inſanſer. amal carparrem do ſacurſe boi ooco.
Taimo amgel 7 arberſe friu. niri penitenciam egerit in impernum ibitir.
egerunt epiſco penitenciam 7 debet Deur indulgentiam eir per irſtam laudem.
ſic nobis conuenit canere porſ prandium.

Alſer, locur .i. pſecur in pectore montis iouir inſer Alſer in qua philoſophi [*sic*] antea
ſuerunt. Tempur, Valentian 7 Ualenci. Perſona hilariur. Cauſa .i. Angelur
porſulauit quando uenit ad Surannam urbem cum epicoſtici uirur .i. .c. de
clericur, 7 .cc. de laicur. Unur uero de clericur mortuur eſt pro friſione hiemur,
7 hilariur orauit pro ſuo monacho. illa autem nocte angelur dixit ad eum,
debet te ſeruari ſeruariſur 7 Œmnum facere Deo. Ille autem fecit iuxta
imperium angeli, 7 mortuum ſurcitauit per ſnatiſtam Dei.

Mecurum troiſachum ceterameſtur eſt. hic pſcipit pſondeum omnibur locur, praeter
certum locum, 7 trochia omnibur locur. in quo aliquando certio loco priur
uerſiculi pſondeum pſerpiet. ut factur celi 7 certae factur. 7 uerſur
purſgat lepraſe morbum. Cupit autem alſerur uerſur ita ut priur uerſur
habeat peder .iiii. porſerur uero .iii. 7 ſyllabam.

Œmnuſ ſnece, laur inſerpretatur latine, uel Œmnuſ memoria dicitur, ſicut in
praſerpio ſnece Œmnuſ certmon. hoc eſt memor ſuit noſtri. 7 ipſe do molab De
in canuſib ar ſur Œmnuſ 7 ipſe porſbinnur oanar ut Agurſtur dicit ipſe na deoabib.
Œmnuſ prium Dauid pſopeta in laudem Dei compoſuiſſe manifeſtum
eſt.

ŒMNUM DICAT TURBA FRATRUM ŒMNUM CANTUS PERSONET
CHRISTO REGI CONCINENTES LAUDEM DEMUS DEBITAM

Gloss.—1. *Hymnum.*—i. laudem. *Fratrum.*—i. in Christo. *Cantus.*—i. nominati-
ua. 2. *Concinentes.*—i. a verbo concino .i. a comchanam [we sing together]. *Demus.*—
i. laudes demus debitas.

1. *Ymnum dicat.*—For a trans-
lation of the Preface, see Addi-
tional Note, p. 162. The various readings
of the Antiphonarium Benchorense have
been marked B. in the following notes :

those of Cassander, C. *Fratrum.*—Fide-
lium, B., which does not suit the metre.
Bede reads *Fratrum*. See Addit. Note.

2. *Concinentes.*—Concinnentur, B., an
evident mistake. *Laudem.*—Laudes, B. C.

Tu dei de corde uerbum tu uia tu ueritas
iesse uirga tu uocaris te leonem legimus.

Dextra patris mons et agnus angularis tu lapis,
sponsus idem el columba flamma pastor ianua.

In prophetis inueniris nostro natus saeculo
ante saecula tu fuisti factor primi saeculi

Factor caeli et terrae factor congregator tu maris
omniumque tu creator quae pater nasci iubet

Uirginis receptus membris gabrielis nuntio
crescit albus prole sancta nos monemur credere

Rem nouam nec ante uisam uirgine puerpera
tunc magi stellam secuti primi adorant paruulum

Gloss.—3. *De corde*.—i. de secreto Divinitatis. *Verbum*.—i. filius. *Via*.—Ut dicitur Ego sum uia et ueritas et uita; et iterum Nemo uenit ad patrem nisi per me. 4. *Jesse*.—i. genitus. *Virga*.—Ut dicitur Exeat uirga de radice iesse. *Leonem*.—Ut dicitur Vicit leo de tribu iuda. 5. *Dextra*.—i. uita eterna. *Mons*.—Ut dicitur Erit in novissimis diebus preparatus mons. *Agnus*.—i. Ecce agnus Dei qui tollit peccatum mundi. *Lapis*.—i. Lapidem quem reproba[uerunt] 6. *Sponsus*.—i. sicut sponsus procedens de thalamo suo *El*.—i. Deus. *Columba*.—Ut dicitur, Sponsa mea, columba mea. *Pastor*.—i. Ego sum pastor bonus, et iterum, Ego sum ianua per me si quis intraverit saluabitur. 7. *Nostro*.—i. in novo testamento. *Saecula*.—i. ante omnia saecula. 8. *Fuisti*.—i. per te ipsum qui es sine initio et sine fine. *Primi saeculi*.—i. mundi creatio in principio, secundum saeculum quando reformabitur in fine saeculi, aliter primum saeculum creatio Adae in principio mundi, secundum saeculum formatio hominis per Christum. 10. *Omniumque*.—i. elementorum; ut dicit Johannes Omnia per ipsum facta sunt. *Jubet*.—i. fiat lux et facta est lux. 11. *Gabrielis*.—i. aua Maria gratia plena, ecce concipies et paries filium et uocabis nomen eius Jesum. 12. *Albus*.—i. Maria. 13. *Puerpera*.—i. puerum prius parens, vel in aetate pueri parens Christum, .i. in x^o. vel in xii^o. anno. 14. *Magi*.—i. quasi magis gnari, qui philosophantur in omni re; ut est, Ecce magi ab oriente uenerunt Hier

The remainder of this line, the last six words of line 3, and the whole of line 4, are wanting in B., from a defect in the MS. *Debitam*.—Debitas, B. C.

5. *Dextra*.—In the margin is the following note:—"Dextra Dei dicitur quia sicut facit aliquis omnia quae uult per dexteram, sic Deus Pater omnia fecit per Christum. Ideo Columba dicitur propter simplicitatem suam. Flamma, ut dicitur, Deus meus flamma devorans et ignis consumens."

6. *Idem el*.—Idem vel, B. C. But the reading "idem El" is undoubtedly correct. *El* is the Hebrew ^לה, *God*, as the Gloss explains it. (See Isidor. Hispal., *Etymolog.*, vii. i. n. 3.)

7. *Prophetis*.—Prophetis, B. C.

9. *Et terra*.—Terrae, B. C.

11. *Gabrielis*.—Gabriele, C.

12. *Albus*.—Evidently meaning *Alvus*, as the Gloss proves. *Alvus* is the reading of B. C. The remainder of this, and the next four lines, are effaced in B.

Offerentes tuis et aurum digna regi munera
 mox erodii nuntiatum inuidens potentiae

15

Tum iubet paruos necari turbam pecit martirum
pertur infans oculendus nili plumen quo pluit

Qui reperitur post erodem nutriendus Nazareth
multa parvus multa adultus signa fecit celitus

20

Quae latent et quae leguntur coram multis testibus
praedicans celeste regnum dicta factis approbat

Gloss.—15. *Offerentes*.—i. an a chumbni na tuco mippam. no ni challa and in ueppu [it was for brevity he did not introduce myrrh; or it would not fit in the verse], vel quia postea dicitur. 16. *Natiuitatem*.—i. opus nascendi. *Invidens*.—i. Herodes. *Potentia*.—i. Christi. 17. *Subst.*.—i. Herodes. *Paruos*.—Cerc. cia lin na mac parbe pocher pund la hepoib [ni-hanbra, Question; what is the number of the children here put to death by Herod? The answer is not difficult] duo milia .c. xl ut Gregorius manifestat in sacramentario. 18. *Fertur*.—i. ducitur. Quatuor annis fuit Christus in Egipto fugiens Herodem. Eliopolis .i. solis civitas, nomen civitatis in qua Christus in Egipto habitavit. Eleos, sol, polis, civitas, interpretatur. Ubi ut aiunt in die adventus illius in urbem omnia idula ejus comminuta sunt. Affrodias vero nomen principis illius qui Christum et parentes ejus benigne suscepit. 19. *Refertur*.—i. bepar [is related]. *Post Erodem*.—i. post mortem Herodia. 20. *Parvus*.—i. parvulus. *Adultus*.—i. an po popbap [as he grew]. *Celitus*.—i. per virtutem celestem. 21. *Qua latent*.—i. in na hi nao peppa [the things that are not known]. *Leguntur*.—i. na hi po peppa [the things that are known]. *Tributus*.—i. apostolorum et discipulorum.

13. *Virgine puerpera*.—Virginem puerperam. C.

14. *Primi*.—In the upper margin of the page (p. 13 of the MS.) is a note on this word, which is in some places illegible. The following is all that can now be deciphered:—" Primi .i. na ḥp̄gōe [the shepherds]; vel Primi ex gentibus hi fuerunt, quia prius ante eos adoraverant eum pastores, ante xiii. . . . iuxta turrim Gadder. Molcho eorum senior qui aurum Deo regi obtulit. Secundus Caspar iuvenis qui tus Deo obtulit. Tertius Pati[farsat qui] mirram homini obtulit. Unde quidam dixit:—

**Melcham sibnachtaid inb oir;
Carran tuco in tur dimoir;
Pasfarrac tue in mui mach;
Conartarac dond nighlaich:**

[Melchar was the presenter of the gold ;
Caspar brought the costly frankincense ;
Patifarsat brought the goodly myrrh ;
And they offered them to the royal Lord.]

Gregorius. Auro sapientia designatur. Ture autem quod Deo incenditur virtus orationis exprimitur. Per mirram carnis nostræ mortificatio figuratur. Nos itaque nato Domino offeramus aurum, ut hunc ubique regnare fateamur. Offeramus tus ut credamus quod is qui in tempore apparuit Deus ante tempora extitit. Offeramus mirram ut eum quem credimus in sua divinitate impassibilem, credamus etiam in nostra fuisse mortali carne." This citation, with some unimportant variations, will be found in the treatise of St. Gregory the Great, *In Evang.*, Lib. I. Hom. x. (Ed. Bened., tom. i. 1470. C.) See a curi-

Debiles facit uigere cecos luce illuminat
uerbis purgat leprae morbum mortuos resuscitat

Uinum quod deerat idris motari aquam iubet
nuptiis mero retentis propinquando poculo

25

Pane quino pisce bino quinque pascit milia
et peperit fragmenta cenae ter caternis coruibus

Gloss.—25. *Idris*.—i. an na uipci lepraiib [in the water vessels]. *Motari*.—i. a sua natura in vinum. 26. *Retentis*.—i. hominibus. *Propinando*.—i. anbaib pobailce in uain rin [what had been distributed at that time]. *Poculo*.—i. fit poculum culum leprai [a vessel]. 27. *Pascit*.—i. Christus. *Milia*.—i. virorum, exceptis mulieribus et parvulis.

ous Irish poem on the Three Magi, published by Dr. Reeves from the Gospels of Maelbrihte, *Proceedings, R. I. Academy*, vol. v. p. 47. The custom of offering gold, frankincense, and myrrh, on the altar, on the feast of Epiphany, is still kept up at the royal chapel of St. James's Palace. *Parvulum*.—In the left-hand margin is this note:—"Pulcherrime munerum sacramenta Iuuenicus prespiter uno versiculo comprehendit:—

'Tus, aurum, mirram, regique, hominique, deoque,
Dona ferunt.'

See Iuuenici *Historia Evangelica*, lib. i. *Biblioth. Patrum* (Lugd. 1667), tom. iv. p. 57. F.

15. *Tus*.—Thus, C.

16. *Erodi*.—Herodi, C.

17. *Tum*.—Cum, B. The Gloss gives 2140 as the number of the martyred Innocents, on the authority of the Sacramentary of St. Gregory. But nothing of the kind is to be found in that work, as we now have it.

18. *Oculendus*.—Occulendus, B. Occidendus, C.

19. *Erodem*.—Herodem, B. C.

20. *Celitus*.—Coelitus, B. C. *Multa parvus*.—Alluding, probably, to the miracles said to have been wrought by our Lord during His infancy. See Thilo, *Codex Apocr.* N. T. (Lips. 1832). I. A. Fabricii, *Codex Apocr.* N. T. (Hamburgi, 1703), especially the *Evangelium Infantiae*.

21. *Quæ latent*.—Alluding to St. John xxi. 25.

22. *Approbat*.—Adprobat, B. *Dicta factis*.—In the margin is the following note:—"Dicta factis .i. vivificat mortuos, illuminat cecos."

23. *Facit*.—Fecit, B. C. *Cecos*.—Cæcos, B. *Illuminat*.—Inluminat, B.

24. *Morbum*.—Bede reads (*De arte metrica*, c. 23), "Verbis purgas lepræ morbos," where *purgas* is an evident mistake. *Mortuos resuscitat*.—In the margin is the following note:—"Tres tantum homines Christus suscitavit, .i. Lazarus, et filia Jari principis sinagoge, atque filius viduæ. Hi tres homines significant peccata hominum. Filia principis, suscitata in cubiculo, significat peccatum cordis. Filius viduæ,

TURBA ex omni discumbente iugem laudem pertulit
duodecim viros probavit per quos vita discitur

30

EX quis unus invenitur christi iudas traditor
instruuntur nisi ab anna probitoris osculo

INNOCENS captus tenetur nec repugnans ducitur
sistitur falsis grassatur offerendus pontio

Glossa.—29. *Discumbente*.—i. am o miapageb mb ule buben [the thing from which the whole company was served]. Unde discus derivatur, .i. miap [a dish]. *Pertulit*.—i. Christus. 30. *Viros*.—i. apostolos. *Probavit*.—i. elegit. *Vita*.—i. futura. 31. *Quis*.—i. apostolis. *Judas*.—i. ut Christus dixit Unus vestrum me traditurus est vel osculum pacis et amoris et mortis est, ut iudas dixit Quemcunque osculatus fuero ipse est. 32. *Instruuntur*.—i. ab iudeis et sacerdotibus. *Nisi*.—i. latrones. 33. *Innocens*.—i. Christus. *Tenetur*.—i. angabrbhap [is seized]. 34. *Sistitur*.—i. ducitur. *Falsis*.—i. verbis vel conviciis. *Pontio*.—i. praesidi regis mundi.

suscitatus in ostio civitatis, significat peccatum verbi prolatum foris. Lazarus, suscitatus de sepulcro, significat peccatum actionis cum m[orte].” This interpretation was common in the middle ages; and may be found for substance in St. Gregory, *Moral.*, Lib. iv. 52 (*Opp. Ed. Bened.*, tom. i. 125, C.)

25. *Idris*.—Hidriis, B. Hydriis, C. *Motari*.—Mutari, B. C. Under each word in this line is a very small letter, thus:—

unum quod deenac rbrpr
motari aquam rubet

and similar letters occur in the next line, and elsewhere in several parts of the MS. They are evidently intended to mark the grammatical order of the words, for the sake of persons not familiarly acquainted with Latin. Taking the words in the order of the letters as above, the line reads thus: “Jubet aquam mutari quod deerat vinum hydriis.” This was pro-

bably deemed the more necessary in this line, because the construction leaves it doubtful whether “vinum mutari aquam” means “wine to be changed into water,” or “water to be changed into wine.”

26. *Mero rotentis*.—Mærore tentis, C. An erroneous reading, which Daniel has inadvertently copied. *Propinnando*.—Propinato, C. *Poculo*.—Populo, B., probably a mistake of Muratori’s transcript. This is the only word which he could read of the line; and the next two lines were also illegible to him in the MS.

27. *Pans quino*.—In the margin is the following note: “No bich [or it is] binus et quinus secundum veteres. Nunc autem bini et quini, ut Priscianus dicit.”—See Priscian, *De Figuris numerorum*, c. vi. (*Opp. ed. Aug. Kriegl. Lips.* 1820, vol. ii. p. 398).

28. *Et fefert*.—C. gives this line thus: “Et reffectis fragmenta cœnæ ter quaternis corbibus.” *Caternis coruibis* in the

DISCUTIT obiecta præses nullum cremen inuenit
sed cum turba iudeorum pro salute cesaris

35

DICERENT christum necandum turbis sanctus traditur
impiis uerbis grassatur sputa plāgra sustinet

SCANDERE crucem iubetur innocens pro noxiis
morte carnis quam gerebat mortem uicit omnium

40

TUM deum clamore magno patrem pendens inuocat
mors secuta membra christi laxat stricta uincula

Gloss.—35. *Objecta*.—i. na tacnai bonata pon Cpmort [the charges that were made against Christ]. *Inuenit*.—i. in Christo, ut dicitur Innocens ego sum a sanguine iusti huius. 36. *Cesaris*.—Qn ba tocnao bonibe nomen regis [for the name of king was an insult to him] regem esse dicebat. *Cesar* dictus a cesso [i. e. cæso] m[atr]is utero. 37. *Turbis*.—i. iudeorum. *Traditur*.—i. Christus. 38. *Sputa*.—i. na paile [spittle]. *Flagra*.—i. na ppaigle [scourges]. 39. *Iubetur*.—i. a iudeis ut dicitur crucifigate crucifigate. *Noxiis*.—i. pro hominibus. 40. *Gerebat*.—i. portabat. *Omnium*.—i. hominum. 41. *Clamore*.—i. quando dixit Heli Heli et in manus tuas domine commendo. 42. *Stricta*.—i. nervi corporis Christi.

text is evidently an antiquated spelling of "quaternis corribus;" and *sefert* is an error of transcription for "*refert*." *Corribus*.—Over this word is the following note: "Curvus, cpom [crooked, bent]; Corvus, piach [a raven]. Cophinus . . . quod est hic."

30. *Duodecim*.—To be read as a trisyllable, which is remarked by the scholiast in the following marginal annotation: "Lege dodecim sine .u. in scandendo."

31. *Quis*.—*Quis* [i. e. quibus], B. C., which would spoil the metre.

32. *Misi*.—*Missi*, B. C. On this word there is the following curious note in the margin: "Misi.—i. o Chaiphap ip eb po paibeopom [i. e. it was by Caiaphas he was sent], quia ille sacerdos fuit illius anni, sed causa metri dicit ab Anna, et in libris historiarum refertur quod .vii. fuissent principes inter Annam et Caifam,

sed filia Annas coniux fuit Caifas." Conf. S. John, xviii. 13. It is probable that the *Libri Historiarum* here quoted are a general reference to the Histories of Josephus, which were known in the middle ages from the abridgment under the name of Hegesippus, and the Latin version ascribed to Ruffinus. It appears that there were exactly seven High Priests (inclusive) between the first priesthood of Annas and that of Caiaphas, in which our Lord was crucified. They are thus enumerated by Aug. Tornielli, *Annal. Sacr.*, tom. i. p. 384 (fol. Lucæ, 1757):—

70. Ananus, qui et Annas, socer Caiaphæ.

71. Ismael, Fabi f.

72. Eleazar, Anani f.

73. Simon, Camithi f.

74. Josephus, qui et Caiaphas.

75. Iterum Annas.

76. Iterum Caiaphas, sub quo Christus passus est.

The numbers signify that Annas was the

Uela templi scisa pandunt nox obscurat saeculum
excitantur de sepulcris dudum clausa corpora

Affuit ioseph beatus corpus mirra perlucum
lintheo rubi ligatum cum dolore condidit 45

Milites seruare corpus annas princeps praecepit
ut uideret si probaret christus quod sponderet

Angelum dei tremantes ueste amictum candida
quo candore claritatis uellus uicit sericum 50

Gloss.—43. *Vela*.—i. ut dicitur Ecce velum templi scisum est in duas partes. *Nox*.—i. tenebrae sanctae sunt super universam terram a sexta hora usque ad nonam horam. 44. *Excitantur*.—ut dicitur Multa corpora sanctorum resurrexerunt post resurrectionem suam, et apparuerunt multis in hierusalem. 45. *Affuit*.—i. venit dives ab arimathea nomine ioseph. 46. *Rubi*.—i. novo. *Condidi*.—i. sepelivit. 47. *Milites*.—i. romanorum. *Annas*. i. pro caifa hic iterum annas dicitur. 48. *Sponderet*.—i. tertia die resurgere, et dicit iterum Solvite templum hoc et in triduo resuscitabo illud. 50. *Sericum*.—i. Seres i. nomen gentis a quo et sericum vestimentum

70th from Aaron, inclusive; Ismael the 71st, &c.

34. *Grassatur*.—Grassantur, B. Grassatur, C., who suggests *gravatur* in the margin. *Offerendus*.—Offerentes, B.

35. *Discutit*.—This line and the next are omitted in B. *Cremen*.—Crimen, C.

36. *Casaris*.—The Gloss, in a mixture of Irish and Latin, tells us that "the name of *King* was regarded as an insult by the Romans." Some words are illegible; but the meaning seems to be, that the name of "Caesar" came to be substituted for "King."

37. *Necandum*.—Negandum, B. C.

38. *Grassatur*.—Grassantur, B. Grassatur, C.

39. *Crucem*.—In the left-hand margin there is the following note: "Quare noluit Dominus alia morte mori nisi morte crucis, quia crux magnum miste-

rium habet. Si enim crux in terra proiicitur per .iiii. ejus partes, .iiii. partes mundi demonstrat. In hoc voluit Dominus demonstrare quod non venit unam partem mundi redimere sed totum humanum genus." A similar interpretation of the four points of the cross is given in the *Sermo de Symbolo*, published with the works of St. Augustine (Ed. Bened., tom. vi. Append. 279 B.) Another note in the right-hand margin is as follows: "Quatuor ligna fuerunt in cruce Christi, cedri a cor ꝥ cupꝑꝑꝑ atenga ꝥ ꝑꝑꝑꝑ in ꝑꝑꝑꝑ bo ꝑꝑꝑꝑ ꝑꝑꝑꝑ ꝥ beche in clꝑꝑ in ꝑꝑ ꝑꝑꝑꝑꝑ in ꝑꝑꝑꝑ [cedar was its foot (or shaft), and cypress was its tongue, and deal was the piece that went across, and birch was the board on which the title was written]

42. *Membra Christi*.—These are the only words here legible in B.

Demouit saxum sepulcro surgens christus intiger
haec uidit iudea mentax haec negat cum uiderit

Feminae primum monentur saluatorem uiuere
quas saluat ipse mestas complet tristes gaudio

Seque a mortuis paterna suscitatum dextera
tertia die rebisse nuntiat apostolis 55

Mox uidetur a beatissimis quos probauit fratribus
quod redisset ambigentes intret ianuis clausis

Dat docens praecepta legis dat diuinum spiritum
spiritum dei perfectum trinitatis uinculum 60

Gloss.—51. *Demouit*.—i. angelus remouit. *Intiger*.—i. corpore et anima. 52. *Haec uidit*.—i. mira opera resurrectionis. *Haec*.—Eadem opera. 53. *Feminae*.—i. Maria Magdalena et Maria Jacobi, et Joetis et Salamona monitae sunt circa resurrectionem Christi manifestam. 54. *Saluat*.—i. benedicit angelus vel christus. *Mestas*.—i. tristes mulieres. *Gaudio*.—i. resurrectionis christi. 55. *Paterna*.—i. virtute patris. 56. *Redisse*.—i. ad vitam. *Nuntiat*.—i. christus per mulieres. 57. *Probauit*.—i. elegit, vel bonis operibus, id est spe et fide et caritate. *Fratribus*.—i. apostolis. 58. *Redisset*.—i. resurrexisset. *Ambigentes*.—i. dubitantes, i. Tomas et ceteri de resurrectione Christi. 59. *Docens*.—i. christus. *Dat*.—i. do pat nach in rppica noeb poraib dia minchapo [He sent the gift of the Holy Spirit upon them after Low Sunday] quamvis plenius dedit in penitenciam. 60. *Vinculum*.—i. na po choimnide combad beba no cethapda. achd tpeada [that it may not be supposed that they are two or four, but three] semper eo quod patrem et filium coniungit, vel vinculum quod homines ad deum coniungit.

43. *Soisa*.—*Soissa*, B. C. *Pandunt*.—*Pendent*, B. C.

44. *Excitantur*.—*Excitantur*, B. C.

45. *Affuit*.—*Adfuit*, B. C. *Mirra*.—*Myrra*, B. C.

46. *Lintheo*.—*Linteo*, B. C.

47. *Præcepit*.—*Præcipit*, B. C.

48. *Quod*.—*Quæ*, C. *Sponderet*.—*Sponderat*, B. C.

50. *Vellus*.—In the margin there is the following note: "Vellus sericum .i. in enai pepicba [i. e. the silk-worm cocoon] .i. cenele etarg march rein [i. e. a kind of costly cloth] sunt apud ethiopiam et indos quidam in arboribus vermes, et pompices appellantur, qui araneae more

tenuissima fila neunt, et unde sericum vestimentum efficitur."—See Isid. Hispal. *Etymol.*, lib. xix. c. 27.

51. *Demouit*.—*Demouet*, C. *Sepulcro*.—There is an erasure before the word *sepulcro*. Perhaps the scribe had originally written "e sepulcro;" but perceiving that the metre would not bear this addition, he erased the "e." *Surgens*.—*Surgit*, C. *Intiger*.—*Integer*, B. C.

52. *Judea mentax*.—*Judaea mendax*, B. C. *Viderit*.—*Videret*, B. C. The next two lines are illegible in B.

54. *Mestas*.—*Moestas*, C. *Tristes*.—*Tristeis*, C.

56. *Redisse*.—*Rediise*, B. But the metre

Praecepit totum per orbem baptizari credulos
nomen patris inuocantes confitentes filium

Mistica fide reuelat tinctos sancto spiritu
ponte tinctos innouatos filios pactos dei

Ante lucem turba fratrum concinnemus gloriam
qua docemur nos futuri sempiterna secula

65

Galli cantus galli plausus proximum sentit diem
nos cantantes et precantes quae futura credimus

Maiestatemque immensam concinemus iugiter
ante lucem nuntiemus christum regem saeculo

70

Glossa.—61. *Præcepit*.—i. Itē docete omnes gentes baptizantes eos in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. 63. *Reuelat*.—i. innovat. *Tinctos*.—i. baptizatos. 64. *Fonte*.—i. baptisimi. *Innouatos*.—i. gratia spiritus sancti. 65. *Lucem*.—i. diē. *Turba*.—i. vocata. *Fratrum*.—i. in christo. 66. *Docemur*.—Cumbach gnechgi bocheptaig fil hic [It is a verb in a passive form here] ut Priscianus dicit. *Futuri*.—Vel os [i. e. vel futuros]. *Sempiterna*.—i. apud deum. 67. *Galli cantus*.—Sicut canit gallus ante lucem sic decet nos cantare ante lucem matutini temporis, vel ante diem iudicii. 68. *Futura*.—i. praemia celestia. 69. *Majestatemque*.—i. Dei.

requires a trisyllable; so that *redisse* must have been pronounced "redisse," or "red-yisse," whether so written or not.

58. *Intrat*.—Intrat, B. C. Cassander puts a comma after *redisset*, instead of after *ambigentes*: the meaning is, "they doubted whether he would return."

61. *Præcepit*.—Precipit, B. C. *Baptizari*.—Baptizare, C.

63. *Mistica*.—Mystica, B. C.

65. *Ante lucem*.—Part of this line and the whole of the next are illegible in B. *Concinnemus*.—Concinimus, C. Muratori's transcript of B. gives "Concinit," which is probably wrong.

67. *Galli cantus*.—In the margin is the following note: "Galli plausus, galli cantus. Gallus .i. Gall a candore. Gal-

lus .i. caillech [a cock] .i. a galea capitis dictus est. Job dicit Quis dedit gallo scientiam [Job, xxxviii. 36.]" In the upper margin there is a note which has no connexion with the text, except that the mention of the cock's crow appears to have suggested St. Peter. It is taken from the *Questiones ex Vet. et Novo Testamento*, printed with the works of St. Augustine (Ed. Bened., tom. iii. Append.), but now acknowledged to be spurious. This note is as follows: "Tunc Salvator cum pro se et Petro dari iubet, pro omnibus solvisse videtur; quia vero omnes in Salvatore erant causa magisterii, ita et post Salvatorem in Petro omnes continentur. Ipsum enim post se reliquit pastorem. Denique dicit illi, Ecce Sata-

ANTE lucem decantantes christo regi domino
et qui in illum recte credunt regnaturi cum eo

GLORIA patri ingenito gloria unigenito
simul cum sancto spiritu in sempiterna secula

Gloss.—71. *Decantantes*.—i. laudem. 72. *Regnaturi*.—i. sunt. *Cum eo*.—i. cum christo. 73. *Gloria*.—i. sit. *Gloria*.—i. sit. *Unigenito*.—i. filio.

nas expostulavit ut vos ventilet velut triticum, ego autem rogavi pro te, ne deficiat fides tua, et tu conversus confirma fratres tuos. Manifestum est in Petro omnes contineri, rogans enim pro Petro pro omnibus rogasse cognoscitur. Semper enim in præposito populus aut corripitur aut laudatur.”—*Quest. ex N. Test.* lxxv. (*Opp. S. Aug.*, tom. iii., Append. p. 73, B.) St. Augustine, in one of his acknowledged writings (lib. iv. *ad Bonifacium*, c. 4) quotes a passage under the name of Hilary (but without saying what Hilary), which is found verbatim in these *Questiones*. This gave rise to the opinion that they were by Hilary of Poitiers, which is, however, not likely. Cave and others, who think Hilary, the Roman deacon, under Pope Damasus, to have been intended, are more probably right. On the whole, the decision of the Benedictine editors of St. Augustine seems well founded—viz., that the *Questiones* were compiled at different times, and from the works of various authors, and so may have included an extract from some writer named Hilary. The editors say: “Hic nos, ut de commentariorum auctore nihil pronuntiemus, juvat in subjectas *Questiones* observare, MStorum codicum eam a nobis deprehensam esse varietatem, quæ efficere

possit, ut jam damum revocetur, atque invalescat opinio Erasmi et aliorum qui primum suspicabantur non unius hominis esse illud *Questionum* opus, in quo eadem quæ dicta sunt iterari, et propositis titulis rursum tractari eandem quæstionem; tum dissimile dicendi genus adhiberi; nec ipsa constanter eadem, sed plane contraria dogmata propugnari cernebant.”—*Ibid.*, p. 34. Ceillier (*Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.*, tom. xi. p. 415) is of the same opinion. He says: “Quelques uns ont cru que c'étoit l'ouvrage d'Hilaire, Diacre de l'Eglise Romaine, sous le Pontificat du Pape Damase. On y trouve en effet plusieurs opinions et plusieurs maximes exprimées dans les mêmes termes, que dans le Commentaire sur S. Paul, qui porte le nom de cet Auteur. Mais il a apparence que toutes ces questions ne sont pas d'une même personne,” &c.

68. *Cantantes*.—Canentes, B. Cante-mus, C.

69. *Concinemus*.—Concinemus, B. Con-cinimus, C. *Iugiter*.—Uniter, B. C.

71. *Decantantes*.—B. reads: “Ante lucem nuntiemus Christum regem saeculo.” C. reads: “Ante lucem nuntiemus Christum regem Domini.”

72. *Et*.—Om., B.

73. *Gloria*.—C. has only “Gloria, &c.”

Τε decet ἡμῶν Θεῶν in Sion ἡ τῶν πεδδεῖται uotum in hierusalem.

Canticis πρῶτοις dilectati ἡμῶν Χριστέ conponanter canimus τῶν quibus tua Domine maiestas porrit placari oblata Deo laudis hortia πρῶτοις περ τε Χριστέ ἱερῶν saluator.

Unitas in trinitate te deprecor Domine ut me pempet trahas totum tibi uotum uouere.

Te decet.—This antiphon (which is from Ps. lxiv. *Vulg.*) and the following collects are omitted in B. Over the word *Sion* is the gloss, "et non in thethralibus;" and over the word *Hierusalem*, "quia ibi habitas." The word *thethralibus* seems to be some corrupt reading or error of the scribe.

The antiphon and collects at the end of this Hymn are in the angular characters already noticed (see pp. 23, 80), but

in the handwriting of the original scribe. The last of these seems to admit of a metrical arrangement:—

"Unitas in Trinitate
Te deprecor Domine,
Ut me semper trahas totum,
Tibi votum vouere."

In which lines, however, we must not look for any very strict observance of the rules of Prosody. *Vouere* seems to have the penultimate short.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

Translation of the Preface.

THE following is a literal translation of the Scholiast's Preface, which is in the usual rude mixture of Irish and Latin:—

HYMNUM DICAT. Hilary^a, bishop and prince^b of the city which is called Pictavis [Poitiers], made this hymn to Christ, in Mount Garganum, after eating his dinner there in the house of the robber. And after giving thanks to God, there came the sons of life^c afterwards, so that they were not larger than infants, as it seemed to a priest who was with them. An angel came and said to them, "Unless you do penance, you shall go to hell." Therefore they did penance, and God gave them pardon (*indulgentiam*), by means of this Hymn (*per istam laudem*). Thus it is our duty to sing after dinner (*sic nobis convenit canere post prandium*).

Another account:—The place [where this Hymn was written] was a cave on the breast of the Mount of Jove^d, in the Alps, in which philosophers^e were before. The time was the reign of Valentinian [*sic*] and

^a *Hilary*.—A large proportion of this Preface is in rude Latin, mixed with sentences of Irish. The Editor has thought it advisable to translate the whole into English, adding some few explanatory notes.

^b *Prince*.—"Hilarius episcopus et princeps civitatis que dicitur Pictavis." St. Hilary was of a noble family of Poitiers, which is, perhaps, the reason why he is here called "princeps."

^c *The sons of life*.—That is Christians; see above p. 30, note ^a. The Editor has not been able to find any life of St. Hilary which mentions this strange legend. During the Arian persecution he was banished (A. D. 356), and took refuge in Phrygia. After his recall he visited Milan and other parts of

Italy; but we find no mention of his having been at Mount Garganum, in Apulia, a place which was not known in Church history for at least a century later, when it became sacred as the scene of a reputed apparition of St. Michael the Archangel (Baron. *ad an.* 492, *et Martyrol. Rom. ad 8 Maii. Actt. SS. Bolland.*, tom. viii. *Sept.*, p. 58). It is not easy to see the point of the story told above of the "sons of life" seeming not larger than infants to the priest who was with them (or *with him*, i. e. with Hilary, as it might be rendered). It does not at first sight appear to have much connexion with the duty of saying grace after dinner, which, nevertheless, seems to be intended as its moral, from the words "*sic nobis convenit canere post prandium*."

Valens. The person [i. e. the author of the Hymn] was Hilarius. The cause [i. e. the occasion of writing the Hymn] was this: an angel demanded it (*postulavit*), when he came to the city Susanna¹, with three hundred men, viz., one hundred clerics, and two hundred laymen. But one of the clerics died from the cold of the winter, and Hilary prayed for his monks; and that very night an angel said unto him, "It behoves thee to search the Scriptures, and compose a hymn to God." And he did as the angel commanded, and raised the dead by the grace of God.

The metre² is trochaic tetrameter. It receives a spondee in all places (except in the third place), and

¹ *Mount of Jove*.—This is also a place which was not celebrated in ecclesiastical history until long after the time of St. Hilary. It is now well known to all European tourists under the name of Mount St. Bernard, so called from the celebrated monastic *Hospice* founded there in the tenth century by St. Bernard of Menthon. Archdeacon of Aoust, who died A. D. 1008. Up to his time the site of the present Hospice was occupied by a pillar stone, and some say an image of Jupiter, with an eye of carbuncle, which cured diseases, and uttered oracles. This was overthrown by St. Bernard, who founded in its place the present monastery. See *Act. SS. Bollandi*, ad 15 Junii. It is not improbable that the fame of this event may have influenced the Scholiast, who was probably a contemporary of St. Bernard of Menthon, in fixing upon the *Mons Jovis* as the scene of his legend. He gives the date of St. Hilary with tolerable correctness, when he says that the Hymn was composed in the reign of Valentinian and Valens (A. D. 364-375). The year 368 is usually given as that of St. Hilary's death.

² *Philosophers*.—The original has "philopphi," which seems a mistake for "philosophi."

³ *Susanna*.—This is some corruption: possibly *Soissons*. The Editor has not been able to find this story of the hundred clerics and two hundred laymen in any of the Lives of St. Hilary.

⁴ *His monk*.—In Irish writers the *monk* of a bishop signifies his attendant, or vassal. The word does not necessarily imply that the person so designated was a *monk*, properly so called. Mr. Curry has referred the Editor to the following passage in the *Leabhar Gabhala* of the O'Clerys, p. 176, where Aedh Ollan, King of Ireland, is styled the "Gospel monk" of Congus, abbot or bishop of Armagh: Congus comarba Patraige do nignu in pannro do

gnepaot Oeba Ollan a manair forrcela im doğan rárarste a cille, "Congus, successor of Patrick, composed the following verse to induce Aedh Ollan, his Gospel monk, to avenge the violation of his church." This the Four Masters (at A. D. 732) understand as implying that Congus was the *anmchara* or spiritual adviser of Aedh, i. e. his Gospel master, so that Aedh would therefore be the spiritual *monk*, i. e. servant or disciple in Christ of Congus. The word occurs again, in the same sense, p. 200 of the same MS.; and so, in the Brehon Laws, *manach* [a monk] means a servant or slave, as *Manach-gobla*, a gallows' slave, i. e. a person redeemed by purchase or entreaty from the gallows, and who became servant or slave for life to the person by whom he was redeemed.

⁵ *The metre*.—This paragraph, as already remarked, is from Bede's tract, *De Arte metrica*, c. 23, with some slight variations. Bede's words are as follows:—"Metrum trochaicum tetrametrum, quod a poetis Græcis et Latinis frequentissime ponitur, recipit locis omnibus trocheum, spondeum omnibus præter tertium. Currit autem alternis versiculis, ita ut prior habeat pedes quatuor, posterior pedes tres et syllabam. Hujus exemplum totus hymnus ille pulcherrimus:—

Hymnum dicat turbe fratrum,
Hymnum cantus personet
Christo regi concinentes,
Laudes demus debitas.

"In quo aliquando et tertio loco prioris versiculi spondeum reperies: ut

Factor cœli terre factor,
Congregator tu maria.

"Et

Verbis purgas lepræ morbos."

a trochee in all places. In which thou mayest sometimes find a spondee in the third place of a prior¹ verse:

Factor cœli et terræ factor

and—

Verbis purgat lepræ morbum.

Moreover, it runs in alternate verses, so that the prior verse has four feet, the posterior three, and a syllable.

Ymnus, in Greek, signifies *Laus* (praise) in Latin; or Ymnus means Memory¹, as in the Greek Psalter, *Ymnostestmon*, that is, He was mindful of us. And it is of the praise of God especially that a Hymn is lawful; and it is to music it is sung, as Augustin² says, in the *Decades*³. *Hymnos primum David⁴ propheta [sic] in laudem Dei composuisse manifestum est.*

¹ *Prior*.—This Hymn has been written in the MS. from which it is now printed, in *lines*, not in the *versiculi* of which Bede speaks. Each line consists of two *versiculi*, which Bede calls *prior* and *posterior*,—the *prior* consisting of four feet, the *posterior* of three and an half. The third foot of the *prior* versiculus may be a spondee, instead of a trochee, of which he gives two examples; but the third foot of the posterior versicle must always be a trochee.

² *Memory*.—There seems some strange confusion here between the words *hymnus* and *μνήμη*. The passage quoted from “the Greek Psalter” is apparently from Ps. cxlii. 20, *Sept.*, Κύριος μνησθεὶς ἡμῶν. The scribe having seen the last two words written, “mnestesemon,” or “mnistesimon,” transformed them into “ymnos testmon,” retaining the correct translation “*memor fuit nostri*.”

³ *Augustin*.—The sentiment here quoted from St. Augustin is that given in Irish which precedes, not the Latin words which follow, this reference; and

the passage intended is probably from the *Enarr.* in Ps. lxxii. 1. “Hymni laudes sunt Dei cum cantico; hymni cantus sunt continentes laudem Dei. Si sit laus, et non sit Dei, non est hymnus: si sit laus, et Dei laus, et non cantetur, non est hymnus.”—*Opp.* tom. iv. (*Ed. Bened.*) p. 753. A similar passage occurs, *Enarr. in Ps.* cxlviii. 17; *Ibid.* p. 1682; see also Isidorus Hispal., *Etymol.* vi. c. 19, n. 17.

⁴ *The Decades*.—The Commentaries (or “*Enarrationes*”) of St. Augustin on the Psalms were anciently divided into fifteen *decades*. See Cassiodorus (*Prolog. in Psalm.*), quoted by the Benedictine editors (*Opp. S. Aug.* tom. iv. *Præfat.*) See also Isid. Hispal., *Epist.* iii. *Braulioni Archidiacono*, “Dum pariter essemus, postulavi te, ut mihi decadem sextam sancti Augustini transmitteres.”

⁵ *David*.—“Psallere usum esse primum post Moysem David prophetam in magno mysterio prodit ecclesia.”—Isidor. Hispal., *De Officiis*, l. c. 5, n. 1. “Hymnos primum eundem David prophetam condidisse ac cecinisse manifestum est, deinde et alios prophetas.”—*Ibid.*, c. 6, n. 1.

VIII. THE HYMN OF ST. COLMAN MAC MURCHON, IN PRAISE OF
MICHAEL THE ARCHANGEL.

THE following Hymn, so far as the Editor knows, has never before been printed. It is ascribed in the Preface to the three sons of "Murchu of the Connacians," or of Connaught (see Addit. Note), the eldest of whom was Colman a bishop, and the other two were priests.

Two saints called Murchu occur in the Calendars of the Irish Church. One of these, whose day was the 8th of June, is mentioned in the *Feilire*, or Festilogium, of Aengus the Culdee, and in that of Marianus Gorman, but without any particulars to indicate his date or history. In the Martyrology of Tallaght, and in that of Donegal (as also in the gloss on Marianus Gorman), he is called "the son of Hua Mactein," which gives us but little information.

The other (June 12) is merely named in the Martyrologies of Tallaght and Mar. Gorman; but his name does not occur in the *Feilire* of Aengus, so that he is probably of later date than the former. The Martyrology of Donegal has the following note on his name:—

Murchu.—*Acá Murchú do fliocht Conaill Cernéanne mic Neill Naor-ghallair, ⁊ acá Cill Murchon ip in cCorann, anais Céipe Corann, a cConnaócaib; ⁊ feð an fpo a peil.*

Murchu.—There is a Murchu of the race of Conall Cremhthainn, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. And there is a Cill Murchon [or Church of Murchu, now *Kilmorgan*], in Corann, near Ceis Corainn, in Connaught. And see if this is his festival.

This proves that the eminent Irish scholar, Michael O'Clery, the compiler of the Martyrology of Donegal, was not able to say who the Murchu was whose festival was celebrated on the 12th of June. He suggests that there was a Murchu, a descendant of Niall of the Nine Hostages: and that there

was also a Murchu (who may, perhaps, have been the same), to whom a church was dedicated in the barony of Corran, near Ceis-Corainn (now Keshcorran, or Keshcorrin), a remarkable hill in the county of Sligo. The father of Colman and his brothers, the reputed authors of this Hymn, is said to have been *do Chonachchanb*, "of the Connaughtmen," and, therefore, may possibly have been the Murchu of Cill Murchon, situated¹ as just described. But this is uncertain; and, indeed, has little evidence to support it except the identity of the name.

The Four Masters, at A.D. 731, record the death of "Colman Mac Murchon (or son of Murchu), abbot of Maghbile," i. e. Movilla, the church founded by St. Finian², at the head of Strangford Lough, which was occasionally a bishop's see in the seventh century; but Dr. Reeves has remarked, that from the year 731 forward (the year at which the Four Masters place Colman's death) Movilla is noticed in the Annals as governed by abbots only.

The Four Masters do not call this Colman, who died 731, a bishop, but only abbot; it does not follow, however, that he was not a bishop; and it is most probable that he was the Colman Mac Murchon to whom the Scholiast has ascribed the authorship of the following Hymn.

The Editor has not found any other copy of it than that in the *Liber Hymnorum*, from which it is now printed. From the anecdotes preserved in the Scholiast's Preface, it is probable that the author and his brothers were of the number of the Irish ecclesiastics who, in the eighth and following centuries, devoted themselves to missionary labour, or monastic retirement, on the Continent of Europe; and this may account for the scanty notice of this Colman Mac Murchon which remains in the native records of his country; although the Scholiast tells us that he afterwards returned to Ireland with his brothers—"et postea ad Hiberniam venerunt"—where he appears to have died Abbot of Movilla.

¹ *Situated*.—It is about two miles E. by N. from Ballymote.—*Ord. Surv.*, sheet 33. See Colgan, *Actt. SS.*, p. 465, col. 1, N^o. 31.

² *S. Finian*.—See above, p. 98, and Reeves' *Eccles. Antiquit. of Down and Connor*, pp. 151, 152.



IN Trinitate pper mea. Tri meicc Murchon do Chonnachtaib do nonpab in molabpa do Michel Colman a rinper 7 eppcob ríbe 7 racairt in diar aile. Caura .i. Dia naitchre do chotar co tainic ambchime mop for muir leht. Co ndeochozap inn alaile inpi, 7 co canic gortea mop doib. Conib dia roepab an in gortea rein do nonpac in molabpa. No ip do roepab inpe Róban an demnaib. An po boe apaile eppcop capmteachach inri neme sein, 7 in Phranciaib ata, 7 portea ab hibeppnam uenepunt. Inceptum est autem in quo tempore factus est. Tre níchim ban doponab 7 .xi. capteall deao ann, 7 da lini in cech caibbaib, 7 re pillaba beg cechai. Ip fo i ip-níchim do peip in omine do bit ann.

TRINITATE spes mea fixa NON IN OMINE
et archangelum deprecor michaellem nomine

UT sit obuius ac misus mihi deo doctore
hora exitus de uita ista atque corpore

NE me ducat IN amarum MINISTER INERTIAE
ipse PRINCEPS tenebrarum atque pes superbiae

ADIUTORIUM succurrat michaelis et archangelus
ad me hora qua gaudebunt iusti atque angeli.

Gloss.—1. *In Trinitate*.—i. trinitas .i. quasi trina unitas. *Fira*.—Est vel erit. *In omine*.—Ideo dixit non in omine quia aliquis monachus audiuit vocem avis surg[entis super] pectus maris, et dixit bonum omen, et tunc Colman dixit In trinitate. Omen, .i. cel [an omen] ab ominor. *Non in omine*.—1. pcpam ppir in cel an a abechi [I reject augury, because of its abomination]. 2. *Archangelum*.—Angeli .i. nuntii, archangeli, .i. summi nuntii, interpretantur. Hir. [Hieronymus]. *Michaellem*.—Qui praestitit Iudeis; vel qui sicut deus interpretatur, eoque in fine seculi aduersus eum qui se aduersus Deum erexerit mitteudus. 3. *Doctore*.—i. de. 5. *Amarum*.—i. locum, vel in infernum. *Inertia*.—i. iniquae operationis sed melius transfigurationis ut iesus dicit quod transfigurat se in angelum lucis. 6. *Ipsae princeps*.—i. diabolus ut apostolus dicit. 7. *Adiutorium*.—i. deprecor. *Succurrat*.—i. veniat cito. 8. *Iusti*.—i. animae sanctorum.

1. *In Trinitate*.—For a translation of the Preface, see Addit. Note. *Non in omine*.—The Gloss appears to allude to some legend of a bird which appeared on

the sea, which a monk exclaimed was a good omen—"Bonum omen:" whereupon Colman repeated the words, "My sure hope is in the Trinity, not in an omen."

Illum rogo ne demittat mihi truces species
inimici sed deducat ubi regni requies

10

Adjuvet me sanctus michel diebus ac noctibus
ut me ponat in bonorum sanctorum consortibus.

Sanctus michel intercebat adiutor probabilis
pro me quia sum peccator actu atque fragilis

Sanctus michel me defendat semper suis viribus
anima egrediente cum sanctorum milibus.

15

Gloss.—9. *Illum*.—i. Michaelēm. *Truces*.—i. grandai. 10. *Ubi*.—Est. *Requies*.—i. sive in celo sive in terra.

3. *Doctore*.—The second syllable is here made short. It is intended, no doubt, for *Ductore*.

5. *Inergia*.—For *energia*. Here used for diabolical influence. Persons possessed with devils were called *Energumēni*.—Comp. 2 Thes. ii. 9, 11.

6. *Pes Superbia*.—Ps. xxxv. 12, *Vulg.*

7. *Et archangeli*.—The metre, as well as the sense, of this line would be improved if *et* were omitted. *Adjutorium* seems to have been pronounced in four syllables, and *Michaelis* in three.

9. *Species*.—In the "Fragmentum Synodi Ibernensis" (Martene, *Thes. Nov. Anecd.*, tom. iv. p. 1, sq. Villanueva, *Opusc. S. Patricii*, p. 169) this word is used to signify *the face*. "Sanguis Episcopi, vel excelsi principis, vel scribæ, qui ad terram effunditur, si collirio indiguerit, eum qui effuderit *sapientes* crucifigi judicant, vel vii. ancillas reddat. Si in specie [i. e. if the wound be in the face] tertiam partem de argento." And again, "Sanguis presbyteri qui ad terram effunditur donec col-

lyrium suffert, manus interfectoris abscindatur, vel dimidium vii. ancillarum reddat, si de industria: si autem non de industria, ancillæ pretio sanetur. Si ad terram non perveniat, percussor ancillam reddat; si in specie ejus, tertiam partem de argento retribuat," &c. If the word *species* be taken in the same sense here, the text may, perhaps, be thus translated: "I beseech him not to cast down upon me the horrible faces of the enemy, but to lead me where there is the rest of [God's] kingdom." The Gloss renders *truces* by *grandai*, or *grandæ*, i. e. great, large, from *grandus* for *grandis*.

11. *Adjuvet me*.—On the upper margin of the page (fol. 16 a) of the MS. there is a note, or extract, of no interest, from some medieval author. It has no reference whatsoever to the text, and is in some places illegible.

13. *Probabilis*.—Meaning *approved*, to be highly lauded, or *approved*.

16. *Anima egrediente*.—"May St. Michael, with myriads of the saints, conti-

SANCTUS gabriel sanctus raphael atque omnes angeli
intercebant pro me semper simul et archangeli

ETERNA possint prestare regis regni aulica
ut possebeam cum christo paradisi gaudia

20

GLORIA sit semper deo patri atque filio
simul cum spiritu sancto in uno consilio.

Adjuvet nos archangelus sanctus michael dignissimus quem
recipere animas mittat deus altissimus.

Gloss.—17. *Gabriel*.—i. fortitudo Dei interpretatur. *Raphael*.—i. medicina Dei interpretatur, eo quod medicinavit tobiam de cecitate. 19. *Possint*.—i. angeli et archangeli. *Aulica*.—i. regia domus. *Archangelus*.—i. summus nuntius interpretatur. *Michel*.—i. qui sicut Deus interpretatur.

nally defend me by his power [especially]
when my soul is departing [from the
body].”

Adjuvet nos.—These lines are in a different character, but by the original scribe, like the similar lines after the other Hymns, of which we have already frequently spoken. Over the *a* in *mittat* a

small *i* is written, indicating a correction of the reading, from *mittat* to *mittit*. There is evidently a distich with a rude rhyme. The verses may be read thus :—

“Adjuvet nos archangelus,
Sanctus Michael dignissimus,
Quem recipere animas
Mittat Deus altissimus.”

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

The Scholiast's Preface.

THE Preface of the Scholiast is for the most part in Irish, but, as in former instances, mixed with Latin words. The whole has been here translated, without distinguishing the phrases that are in Latin :—

In Trinitate spes mea. The three sons of Murchu of the Connacians made this Hymn to Michael. Colman^a, the eldest of them, was a bishop; the other two were priests. The Cause^b was this: they went on a pilgrimage, and a great tempest arose on the Iccian^c sea, and they came to a certain island, and a great hunger came on them, and it was to deliver them from this hunger they composed this Hymn. Or, it was to free the island of Rodan^d from Demons. For there had been a certain transgressing bishop in it before that; and it is in France. And afterwards they went to Ireland. It is uncertain, however, at what time this Hymn was composed. It is made in rhyme, and there are eleven^e chapters in it, and two lines in each chapter, and sixteen^f syllables in each line. It is on *i*: the rhyme is, on account of the *omine* being in it.

^a *Colman*.—See what has been already said of him in the introductory remarks, p. 165.

^b *The Cause*.—That is, the occasion on which the Hymn was composed.

^c *Iccian Sea*.—i. e. the British Channel, *Irish Nennius*, p. 31, n. p. 272; *Genealogies of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 18, n.

^d *Rodan*.—The Editor has not been able to identify this island, unless it be the *Ile St. Roui*, off the coast of Brittany. There is a St. Rodineus, or St. Rouin, an Irishman, whose original name was probably Rodan. He founded the Abbey of Beaulieu in Argonne, and died A.D. 680, on the 17th Sept., at which day his name occurs in the Calendar of the Church of France. See Menard, l. ii., *Observatt. in Martyrol. Bened.*, and Mabillon,

Act. SS. Bened., where his life is given: Sec. iv. part ii., App., p. 543. *Venet.*, 1738.

^e *Eleven*.—The MS. has .xi. captecll bec, a mistake for .i. captecll bec, or .xi. captecll, "eleven chapters."

^f *Sixteen*.—This is also a mistake, for the lines have only fifteen syllables. But line 7 seems to have seventeen syllables, or sixteen if we read *Michaelis* as a trisyllable. But in line 2 *Michaelen* is read in four syllables, and in lines 11, 13, and 15, where the name Michael is a dissyllable, it is written *Michel*.

It is on i.—i. e. the rhyme is on the vowel *i*, as *omine*, and *nomine*, ver. 1 and 2. Every line has *i* either in the last or penultimate syllable, except lines 3, 4, where the last syllable is *e*.

IX. THE HYMN OF ST. OENGUS MAC TIPRAITE IN PRAISE OF ST. MARTIN.

THIS Hymn has never before been printed. It is ascribed in the Preface to Oengus Mac Tipraite, priest, or abbot, of Cluain Fota Baitain-abha¹, a contemporary of St. Adamnan; and is said to have been written on the occasion of Adamnan's visitation of the Columban foundations in Ireland, A. D. 692 or 697. Oengus, however, lived to A. D. 745, at which year the Annals of Ulster record his death in these words: "Mors Oengusa filii Tipraiti abbatis Cluana Fota;" as also the Annals of Tighernach, in the words, *barr Oengusa meic Tipraite ab Cluana Fota baitain aba*, "Death of Aengus son of Tipraide, abbot of Cluain Fota Baitain-abha." The Four Masters alter the date given by the earlier annalists to 741. But all these authorities agree in styling Oengus *Abbot* of Cluain Fota Baitain-abha: they probably understood our Scholiast to have meant *abbot*, when he calls him *priest* of that monastery.

The Hymn is in extremely rude Latinity, and irregular metre, with rhyme or assonances at the end of the lines. Nothing is known of the author except what is recorded in the Preface, and in the Annals above quoted. His name does not occur in the Calendars or Martyrologies of the ancient Church of Ireland.

¹ *Cluain Fota Baitain-abha*.—This name signifies "the long lawn or meadow of Baitan of the river," now Clonsfad, barony of Farbill, county of Westmeath. *Baitan of the river* may have been the founder of the monastery, or else, perhaps, a chieftain who was the original owner of the soil; but no other notice of him appears to have been

preserved. One of the earliest bishops of Clonsfad was Etchein, who ordained St. Columba.—See the Legend, *Obits of Christ Church*, Introd., p. liv., and comp. Reeves' *Adamnan. Vit. S. Columbæ*, App. to Pref., p. lxxii. He died A. D. 577 or 578. Four Masters in anno; Colgan, *Act. SS.*, 11th of Feb.; Lanigan, *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 125.



MARTINE. Oengur mace tippaite pacapre eluana pota batan aba ipe do ponai hunc
 fmnnum. i eluam pota pactur ert. Caura autem adamnan doi for cuapre cell
 coluim cille in hepenm co poacht co uirneach mibe co po gaped do cech fir gnab
 forr a paba liub irin tir; co puacht in tepuacra oengur in aibche fele martain.
 et timuit ualde ut pecit hunc fmnnum in honorem martini dia roenab. uenit era
 oengur do chum [na] dala apnabapach i a immun eplam leir. i cappar do
 adamnan martain for a laim deir Oengura i acpacht era adamnan neme, et
 honorificauit eum cum orculo et omnes mirabantur causam honoris et dixit
 Adamnan ut uidit martinum pecum, conit ap martain do bich immaile firr do
 pat honor do. po roenab era amlaib reim oengur. et ortenbit fmnnum ruum et
 laudauit adamnan fmnnum et dixit gnur apmicitu for in ti gebar icbul do chum
 dala no apsecha ocup comab ditiu ap cech ngalar. ocup nem ara gabail po lige
 po eirge. Tre nithim dan do ponab, re caibbill ann i da line oech caibbill.
 impecra dan ann et non aequalem numerum syllabarum singulas linie
 repuant.



MARTINE te deprecor pro me rogans patrem
 christum ac spiritum sanctum habentem mariam
 matrem

MARTINUS mirus more ore laudauit deum
 puro corde cantauit atque amauit eum

electus dei uiui signa sibi salutis
 donauit deus pacis magne atque uirtutis

Uerbum dei locutus secutus in mandatis
 uirtutibus impletis mortuis resuscitatis

Gloss.—3. *More*.—i. caritatis atque religionis. 7. *Locutus*.—est. *Secutus*.—i. Deum. 8. *Impletis*.—amen.

1. *Martine*.—For a translation of the Preface see Addit. Note.

2. *Habentem*.—This seems heterodox, or at least very badly expressed, and

rude; for *habentem* agrees grammatically with *Spiritum Sanctum*, although, of course, intended to agree with *Christum*.

8. *Impletis*.—The Gloss “Amen” on

SANANS HOMINES LEpra cura duplice mira
MAGNITUDE mala EGRETUDINE DIRA

10

Deum DOMINUM NOSTRUM passum PRO NOBIS mire
uoluntarie propter nos deprecare MARTINE

MARTINE.

Sanctur martinur adhuc catacominur hac me uerpe conterit
dicir dominur omnipotenr.

Per merita martini sancti atque dignissimi nor precamur ut
mereamur regnum dei uui altissimi. Amen.

Gloss.—9. *Duplice*.—i. anima et corpore. 10. *Magnitudine*.—i. peccati. *Egretudine*.—i. corporis.

Catacominus.—i. adiutor fidei interpretatur.

this word is in a more recent hand, and is written under, not over, the word. *Mortuis resuscitatis*.—Sulp. Severi *De Vit. B. Martini*, c. 5, 6 (*Bibl. Patr.*, tom. vi., 350 H., 351 A. Lugd. 1677).

9. *Lepa*.—*Ibid.*, c. 19 (*ubi supr.*, 353 A.) *Cura duplice*.—With a twofold cure, of mind as well as body: converting them to the faith, as well as healing them of bodily disease. *Cura* is here used in the sense of *curatio morbi*.

12. *Martino*.—The Hymn ends here, as we infer from the repetition of the last word, *Martine*, which is also the first word of the Hymn. It is one of the artifices of Irish poetry to make a poem begin and end with the same word (see above, p. 23). What follows is in a different character, although by the original scribe (see above, pages 23, 80, 161).

Catacominus.—i. e. *Catechumenus*, a Catechumen. In the Gloss this word is ex-

plained *adiutor fidei*, which is, perhaps, a mistake for "auditor fidei."—Isidor. Hispal., *Etymolog.*, vii. c. 14. The allusion is to the following legend, told by Sulpitius Severus in his Life of St. Martin:—During his military career, St. Martin found one day at the gate of the city of Amiens a poor man, naked, and shivering with the intense cold of a more than usually severe winter. None of the by-passers took any notice of the wretched suppliant's appeals to their charity; but St. Martin, moved by compassion, took off his own cloak (*chlamydem*), and drawing his sword, divided it into two equal parts, one of which he gave to the poor man. At this time St. Martin was only a Catechumen, and had not as yet been baptized, although he was eighteen years of age. He entered the city amid the jeers of many, who ridiculed his appearance in his cloak cut short; but that same

night he saw in a dream Christ Himself, clothed in that very half of the cloak which had been given to the poor man, and being called upon to recognise the garment, he heard Jesus say to the surrounding angels, "Martin, although only a Catechumen, hath covered Me with this robe"—"Nocte igitur insecutâ, cum se sopori dedisset, vidit Christum clamydis suæ, quâ texerat pauperem parte vestitum. Intueri diligentissime Dominum, vestemque quam dederat jubetur agnoscere. Mox ad angelorum circumstantium multitudinem, audit Jesum clara voce dicentem: *Martinus, adhuc Catechumenus, hac Me veste contexit. Vere memor Dominus dictorum suorum (qui ante prædixe-*

rat: *Quamdiu fecistis hæc uni ex minimis istis, mihi fecistis*), se in paupere professus est fuisse vestitum," &c. Upon this, St. Martin was immediately baptized, but continued almost two years longer in the army, to complete the term of his military service.—Sulp. Severi, *De Vita S. Martini*, c. 2 (*Biblioth. Patr.*, tom. vi., 350 A.) *Lib. Armac.* in Vit. S. Martini, fol. 192, where the form *Catacominus*, for *Catechumenus*, occurs.

Per merita.—There is here a rhyme or jingle:—

"Per merita Martini
Sancti atque dignissimi
Nos precamur
Ut mereamur
Regnum Dei vivi altissimi."

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

The Scholiast's Preface.

THE Preface, or Argument, details a curious legend, which is quite consistent with the date already assigned to the author of this Hymn. It is in the usual mixture of Latin and Irish, and may be translated as follows:—

Martine. Oengus Mac Tipraite^a, priest of Cluain Fota Baitain-abha, was the person who composed this Hymn. It was composed in Cluain Fota. The Cause^b was this: Adamnan was making his visitation^c of the churches of Colum-cille in Erin, when he arrived at Uisneach of Meath; and every man of grade^d, against whom there was any accusation in that country, was summoned to him; and the proclamation reached Oengus on the eve of the festival of Martin; and he feared greatly^e, so that he made this Hymn in honour of Martin, to deliver himself. Then Oengus came to the assembly on the morrow^f, and his Hymn ready with him; and Martin appeared to Adamnan on the right hand of Oengus, and Adamnan rose up before him [i. e. before Oengus], and did him honour with a kiss, and all wondered at the cause of the honour; and Adamnan said when he saw Martin with him, [i. e. with Oengus], that it was because Martin was with him that he gave him this honour. Thus did Oengus deliver himself; and he showed his Hymn, and Adamnan praised the Hymn, and said, An honourable aspect^g shall be upon every one that

^a *Oengus Mac Tipraite*.—See what has been said of him, p. 171, *supra*.

^b *The Cause*.—That is, the cause or occasion on which it was composed.

^c *His Visitation*.—This fixes the date to A. D. 692 or 697.—See Reeves' *Adamn.*, p. xlix. *Uisneach* is in the parish of Conry, diocese of Meath, a little south of which, in the parish of Ardmurcher, is *Suidé Qbarinnam* (now *Syonan*), "*sessio Adamnani*," which was probably the spot where the visitation or synod alluded to in the text was held.—Reeves' *Adamnan.*, *App. to Pref.*, p. lxxv.

^d *Of grade*.—That is, every man who was in holy orders.

^e *He feared greatly*.—Are we to infer from this that Oengus was one of those against whom some accusation had been brought? If so, his fears may have arisen from the apprehension that justice was not always to be expected from the ecclesiastical tribunals of that period.—See Reeves' *Adamnan*, lib. iii. c. 3, p. 192, and note ^a.

^f *On the morrow*.—The Irish word is *annapach*, which would be now written a *mánpach*; a curious instance of the interchange of *b* and *m*.

^g *An honourable aspect*.—That is, his very outward appearance shall be such as to command respect from all who see him.

sings it in going to an assembly, or court^h, and it shall be a protection against every disease, and against poison, to him who sings it lying down and rising up.

It is composed in rhyme; there are six chapters in it, and two lines in each chapter; it is in assonancesⁱ; and the lines do not each preserve the same number^j of syllables.

^h *An assembly or court.*—*Dala* no a^hnechtá. *Dala* (the same word used above, where it is said that Oengus went to the assembly, at which he was to receive the judgment of Adamnan) is a general term for any meeting; a^hneacht is properly a court or diet of princes, or officials, for making laws, or hearing civil causes; from a^hneach, a chieftain, or noble.

ⁱ *In assonances.*—*Recpa*, repetition of the same sound at the end of each line.

^j *The same number.*—The lines have generally

fourteen syllables. Verse 2 has sixteen syllables, but may be reduced to fourteen, if we elide the final syllable of *Christum* before *ae*, and pronounce *Mariam* as a dissyllable, *Marjam*. Verses 8 and 12 have fifteen syllables: in verse 8, *mortuis* is pronounced as a dissyllable; and in verse 12, *voluntarie* is pronounced *voluntarje*, four syllables only. But in verse 4, the final syllable of *atque* is not elided before *amavit*. *Martianus* is apparently pronounced *Martianus*, with the penultimate short; and there are several other irregularities.

X. GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO.

IT may be convenient to give here a translation of the Scholiast's Preface¹, or Introduction, to this well-known Hymn :—

" *Gloria in excelsis.* The angels of God sang the first verse of this Hymn on the night of the Lord's Nativity. They made it at the Tower of Gabder,² a mile from Jerusalem eastward. To make known that He who was then born was the Son of God they made it. In the time of Octavin Augustus it was composed. But Ambrose made this Hymn, from the second verse to the end of the Hymn."

From the notice of this Hymn in the fourth Council of Toledo (A. D. 633), it would seem that the author or authors of it were then unknown : the Council (can. 13), speaking of those who at that time objected to the use of all hymns of human composition, say : " *Respuant ergo et illum hymnum ab hominibus compositum, quem quotidie publico privatoque officio in fine omnium psalmodicimus, Gloria et honor Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, in secula seculorum, Amen.* Nam et ille hymnus quem nato in carne Christo Angeli cecinerunt, *Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis* ; et reliqua quæ ibi sequuntur ecclesiastici Doctores composuerunt." As Hilary and Ambrose had been mentioned just before as the authors of hymns (see above, p. 149), it is not likely that the Council would have spoken thus, if either of those Fathers had been then reputed the author of this Hymn.

It is most commonly attributed to St. Hilary³, of Poitiers, and is entitled, "Hymnus S. Hilarii ad Missam" in the *Cod. Vatic.* 5729 (an ancient MS. of

¹ *Preface.*—Another version of this Preface will be found in Addit. Note A at the end of this Hymn.

² *The Tower of Gabder.*—See Additional Note B.

³ *To St. Hilary.*—Some have made Pope Telesphorus (A. D. 150) the author (as Rhabanus, Amalarius, Walafridus Strabo, &c.), misunderstanding, as it would seem, the words of the *Liber Pontificalis*, where Telesphorus is

the Hieronymian Bible). But as this Hymn was in use as a morning hymn (*προσευχὴ ἑωθινή*) in the Greek Church⁴, and is found in a Greek dress in the Apostolical Constitutions (lib. vii. c. 47), Cardinal Thomasius⁵ suggests, with great probability, that St. Hilary was only the translator, and that he had been instrumental in bringing it into use in the Western Church: "Forte hic primus hymnum hunc Latinum fecit, primusque ex Oriente in Occidentem inexit."

The Editor has found no authority except that of the Scholiast of the Book of Hymns, now before us, for attributing this Hymn to St. Ambrose. The reasons already given for supposing it more ancient than St. Hilary are of equal force against the opinion that St. Ambrose was the author⁶.

said to have appointed this Hymn, or rather, perhaps, only the first verse of it, to be sung on the night of Christmas: "Ut Hymnus Angelicus in nocte Nativitatis Domini diceretur." It is remarkable that in the Liturgy of St. James only the words of the angels, and not the remainder of the Hymn, are to be found. —J. A. Fabricii, *Cod. Apocr. N. T.*, pt. iii. tom. ii. p. 64; and so also in the *Ordo Missæ* for Christmas Day, in the *Missale Gothicum*, published by Mabillon, *De Liturg. Gallicana*, pt. iii. p. 192. But Alcuin, Honorius Augustodunensis, Hugo de St. Victore, and many others, maintain that Hilary was the author.

⁴ *Greek Church*.—See Ussher, *De Symbolis* (Works by Elrington, vol. vii. p. 335). It is called in the Greek Church *ἡ μεγάλη δοξολογία*, "the great Doxology" (Goar. *Rituale Græcor.*, p. 54-58). In the Codex Alexandrinus (Edit. Baber, vol. iii. 569) this Hymn is entitled *ὁ μὲν ἑωθινός*; and in the Vatican MS., 5729, "Hymnus Angelorum" (Card. Thomasii, *Psalter. Opp.* ed. A. F. Vezzosi, Rom., 1748, tom. iii. p. 616). See also Cave, *Hist. Liter.*, vol. ii., Dissert. ii. p. 28, voc. *ἑωθινός*, Oxon., fol. 1473.

⁵ *Thomasius*.—*Psalter., Opp.*, loc. cit.; and so Alcuin speaks of the *Gloria in excelsis* as having been "auctus et consummatus" by St. Hilary. Quoted by Mabillon, *De Liturg. Gallic.*, p. 29.

⁶ *The author*.—Mention is made of this Hymn in the Treatise *De Virginitate*, published among the works of St. Athanasius (tom. ii., Ed. Bened.); and if that tract were genuine, this would be a strong argument against the opinion that the Hymn was of Latin origin, or that it had either St. Hilary or St. Ambrose for its author. For the Tract *De Virginitate* speaks of the Hymn as used in the morning, or near morning (*πρὸς ἑσπέρην*), by an established custom; which it could scarcely have been in the time of Athanasius, if Hilary or Ambrose had been the author. However, although Bellarmine, Nat. Alexander, and other learned men, have upheld the genuineness of the treatise *De Virginitate*, there is now scarcely any one who does not acquiesce in the judgment of the Benedictine editors, that it cannot be an authentic work of St. Athanasius.—See Oudin., *De Scripturis*, tom. i. p. 340.



GLORIA IN excelsis. Anzeli dei cecinerunt primum uerbum huius cmmi in nocte dominicae natiuitatis. Ic sup gabber imorpo do ponpat .i. mile o hierusa-lem rari. do paillygub imorpo connub maco de in ei po genair ann do ponpat he. In amirp octauin augurci do ponab. Ambrosiur autem fecit hunc cmmum a pecundo uerpu urque ad finem cmmi.



GLORIA IN excelsis deo et in terra pax
hominibus bonae uoluntatis

Laudamus te benedicimus te adoramus te
glorificamus te magnificamus te

Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam misericor-
diam tuam
domine rex celestis deus pater omnipotens

Domine fili unigenite iesu christe
sancte spiritus dei et omnes dicimus amen

Gloss.—1. *In excelsis.*—i. in cella. *In terra.*—i. in ecclesia sancta. 2. *Bonae uoluntatis.*—i. eis qui nullant [nolunt] deum offendere sed placere cogitatione et uerbo et opere. 3. *Laudamus.*—i. [in uita] hac nostra vel in teorica uita. *Benedicimus.*—i. actuali uita. *Adoramus.*—i. sub-
iectione corporis et animae, .i. totis uiribus. 4. *Glorificamus.*—i. coram Deo Patre. *Magnificamus.*—
i. coram hominibus bono opere.

1. *Gloria.*—For a translation of the Preface, see above, p. 177.

4. *Magnificamus te.*—Omitted in the text of this Hymn as now used.

5.—*Misericordiam.*—An ancient hand has written in the margin *Gloriam*.

6.—*Domine rex.*—"Domine Deus rex" is the reading now.

7.—*Domine fili.*—The present text is

"Domine Fili unigenite Jesu Christe, Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris. Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. Qui tollis peccata mundi suscipe deprecationem nostram. Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis. Quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus Dominus, tu solus altissimus, Jesu Christe, cum sancto Spiritu in gloria Dei Patris. Amen."

Domine fili dei patris agne dei qui tollis peccata mundi
miserere nobis. 10

Suscipe orationem nostram qui sedes ad dexteram patris
miserere nobis domine.

Quoniam tu solus sanctus tu solus dominus tu solus
gloriosus cum spiritu sancto in gloria dei patris amen

IN omni tempore benedicimus te et laudamus 15
nomen tuum in aeternum et in seculum seculi amen

Dignare domine nocte ista
sine peccato nos custodire

Benedictus es domine deus patrum nostrorum et laudabile
et gloriosum nomen tuum in aeternum et in seculum se-
culi amen. 20

Domine deus salutis meae
in die clamaui et nocte coram te

Gloss.—13. *Tu solus.*—i. per teipsum. 15. *In omni tempore.*—i. in prosperis et in adversis.
16. *Nomen.*—i. filium tuum. 17. *Nocte.*—i. huius seculi. 18. *Peccato.*—i. sine mortali crimine.
19. *Patrum.*—i. patriarcharum et apostolorum. 20. *In seculum.*—i. hic et in futuro. 22. *In die.*—
i. in prosperis. *Nocte.*—i. in tenebris seculi huius.

15. *In omni tempore.*—What follows is an addition, of the nature of an antiphon, like the similar additions at the end of the foregoing Hymns; but in this case it is written in the same characters as the text. The verse *In omni tempore* is added to this Hymn in the copy of it printed by Cardinal Thomasius from the Ambrosian Breviary (Psalter. *Opp.*, ubi *supr.*, p. 613), but with the variation, “per singulos dies [instead of “in omni tempore”] benedicimus te,” which is the reading of the modern Vulgate, Ps. cxliv. 2.

17. *Dignare.*—This verse is found also

in the Ambrosian copy of this Hymn (Thomas., *loc. cit.*), and is also usually incorporated in the *Te Deum*, but with the reading *dis isto*, instead of *nocte ista*, as above. This peculiarity of the Irish copy seems to show that in the ancient Church of Ireland the Hymn was used at night; a fact which is expressly stated to have been the case, in another copy of the preface, which will be given in Note A, from the *Leabhar Breac*.

18. *Sine peccato.*—Sine peccatis. Thomas., *loc. cit.*

19. *Benedictus.*—Dan. iii. 26, *Vulg.*

INTER ORATIO mea IN conspectu tuo
INCLINA aurem tuam ad precem meam domine

SCUTO circumdabit te veritas eius
NON timebis a timore nocturno

25

Gloss.—24. *Precem*.—i. quia in hoc corpore possitis fundo 25. *Scuto*.—i. licet in errore fuimus quando nox est, non timebis quia habes scutum veritatis. 26. *Timebis*.—i. a tenebrosa satione inimicorum.

21. *Domine Deus*.—This and the next of *invasion, attack*, unless we suppose a clause are from Ps. lxxxvii. 2, 3, *Vulg.* mistake of transcription for “tenebrosa

25. *Scuto*.—This clause is from Ps. xc. *invasione.*” The verb *Saisire* was used by Ivo Carnotensis in the eleventh century, 4, 5, *Vulg.*

26. *Timebis*.—The gloss over this word which was, probably, about our scholiast’s seems to use *sasio* for *saisio*, in the sense time.—See Du Cange.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE A.

The Scholiast's Preface.

A TRANSLATION of the Scholiast's Preface has already been given (p. 177, *supra*). There is, however, another copy of this Preface in the marginal notes to the Felire of Aengus in the Leabhar Breac (fol. 49 b, in *^ marg. inf.*) a MS. belonging to the Royal Irish Academy. This has been probably taken from another copy of the Book of Hymns, and is worth preserving here:—

Gloria in excelsis Deo. Amgyl do pon-
pat in ferr correch don imanyo, oibce na
zeine. hio top adey imorpo do ponpat .i.
mile o hierusalem pamp. Dia foillirugub
comib mac De mch pozenap and do ponpat
he. In amnyir hockaum imorpo do ponab
he. Ambrosiur bin do pome in cuilleb .i.
a pecundo uerpu urque in pinem laubir,
7c.

Ambrosiur rui erpuoc ire do pome hunc
imnum do molab lepu. ocur in oibche ar
bir a cantann. Tria pichim bin do ponab.
un. captil mb, ocur .un. line in cech captil
ocur .un. pullaeba cecha line.

Gloria in excelsis Deo. The angels made the
first verse of this Hymn, on the night of the Nati-
vity: and in the tower of Ader they made it, which
is a mile from Jerusalem, eastwards. To make
known that He who was then born was the Son of
God they made it. And in the time of Octavin
they made it. But Ambrosius made the remain-
der, from the second verse to the end of the hymn,
etc.

Ambrose the learned bishop, it was he who made
this Hymn in praise of Jesus; and at night it is
right to sing it. And it is made in rhythm.
There are seven chapters in it, and seven lines in
each chapter, and seven syllables in each line.

It will be observed, that in this version of the Preface St. Ambrose is stated to have been the author of the Hymn; and it is also expressly said that it was the usage to sing it at night, which accounts for the alteration *nocte isto* instead of *die isto*, already noticed, p. 180, note. The concluding paragraph, which tells us that the Hymn is in rhythm, consisting of seven chapters, with seven lines in each chapter, and seven syllables in each line, is an evident mistake.

NOTE B.

The Tower Gabder, or Gadder.

MENTION of the Tower *Gadder*^a has already been made, as the scene of the angelical vision, which appeared to the shepherds on the night of our Lord's Nativity.

This Tower is stated in the Scholium, or Preface to the present Hymn, to have been a mile from Jerusalem; but St. Jerome and Ven. Bede speak of it as a mile from Bethlehem, which accords better with the Gospel narrative. The latter says (*Comment. in Luc. ii. 8*): "Meminit et Micha propheta loci hujus et temporis, dicens, '*Et tu turris gregis nebulosa, filia Sion usque ad te venient, et veniet potestas prima, regnum filia Sion.*' Turris quippe gregis, quæ Hebraice *Ader* vocatur, mille circiter passibus a civitate Bethleem ad orientem distat, vaticinio sui nominis pastores hos multo ante demonstrans ad quam usque filia Sion, angelicæ videlicet potestates, pastoribus apparendo, venerunt."

St. Jerome, on Gen. xxxv. 21, says: "*Et profectus est Israel, et extendit tabernaculum suum trans turrin Ader.* Hunc locum Hebræi esse volunt ubi postea templum ædificatum est; *et turrin Ader, turrin gregis* significare, hoc est, *congregationis et cætus*; quod et Michæas propheta testatur, dicens, *Et tu turris gregis nebulosa, filia Sion*, &c.: illoque tempore Jacob trans locum, ubi postea templum ædificatum est, habuisse tentoria. Sed si sequamur ordinem viæ" [i. e. the order of Jacob's journey] "*pastorum juxta Bethleem locus est, ubi vel angelorum grex in ortu Domini cecinit; vel Jacob pecora sua pavit, loco nomen imponens: vel quod verius est, quodam vaticinio futurum jam tunc mysterium monstrabatur.*" Here it will be seen that St. Jerome decides rightly that the Tower Ader, in Genesis, must, from the tenor of the narrative, have been near Bethlehem, and that the *turris gregis nebulosa*, mentioned in Micah (iv. 8), which the tradition of the Jews supposed to have been the site of the temple, was a different tower, near or in Jerusalem. *Quest. in Genes. (Opp., tom. iii., Edit. Vallarsii, Venet., 1767, col. 361, B. C.)*. In another place, describing the travels or pilgrimage of St. Paula, St. Jerome says: "Haud procul inde" [scil. a Bethlehem] "descendit" [Paula] "ad turrin Ader, id est gregis; juxta quam Jacob pavit greges suos, et pastores nocte vigilantes audire meruerunt, *Gloria in excelsis Deo*," etc. *Epitaph. Paulæ, Epist. cviii. ad Eustochium (Opp., ubi supr., tom. i. col. 699 D.)*

^a *Gadder*.—In a marginal note on the Hymn attributed to St. Hilary in praise of Christ (No. vii. *supra*), the angels are said to have first worshipped

Christ "juxta turrin Gadder."—See p. 153 (note on line 14). *Gadder* is an erroneous form of the name.

The tradition of the Hebrews, alluded to by St. Jerome, is probably the same as that preserved in the Targum of Jonathan on Gen. xxxv. 21, whose words are:—

<p>ויסע ונמל יעקב ופרס למשכניה מן להלא למגדלא דעדר אתרא דמתמן עתיד דאתגלי מלכא משיחא בסוף יומיא :</p>	<p>“And Jacob journeyed, and arose, and spread his tents beyond the tower of Eder, the place where the King Messiah shall reveal Himself, in the end of days.”</p>
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Here it is evident that the *Migdal Eder*, or Tower of Eder, near Bethlehem, is alluded to; for Bethlehem was known to the Jews, even before our Lord's Nativity, as the predicted birthplace of Messiah (Matt. ii. 4-6). But “the place where Messiah shall reveal Himself” was probably taken to signify the Temple, by the Jews who communicated or interpreted this tradition to S. Jerome.

The name מגדל-עדר, Tower of Eder (Gen. xxxv. 21, Mic. iv. 8), signifies *turris gregis*, as it is rendered in the Vulgate Version, and this may, perhaps, have given occasion to the tradition that the place so called near Bethlehem (a watch-tower probably for shepherds) was the place from which the shepherds (Luke ii.) saw the vision of angels, that announced the Nativity. Still it cannot be doubted, from the testimony of St. Jerome, and the words of the Targumist above quoted, that some ancient traditions of the Jews were connected with the place.

But there were certainly two places so called, one near Bethlehem, which, as we have seen, is that mentioned Gen. xxxv. 21; the other in or near Jerusalem, which is evidently the place intended, Mic. iv. 8^b.

It appears, from the passage above quoted, that Bede had a different reading of this latter text from that of the present Vulgate Version: “Et tu turris gregis nebulosa, filiae Sion usque ad te venient” [instead of “Et tu turris gregis nebulosa filiae Sion, ad te veniet”], which he interprets, “And as for thee, O dark tower of the flock, the daughters of Sion” [i. e. the angels who appeared to the shepherds] “shall come to thee.” Whereas, the Vulgate is, “And thou, O dark tower of the flock of the daughter of Zion, it” [i. e. the kingdom] “shall come to thee.” The English version, following the Masoretic punctuation, which separates עפל (rendered *nebulosa* by the *Vulg.*) from מגדל-עדר, the tower of Edar, is as follows:—“And thou, O tower of the flock” [*Margin*, “O tower of Edar”], “the strong hold of the daughter of Zion, unto thee shall it come, even the first dominion.”

But the accentuation followed by the Septuagint and Vulgate seems more probable, except that we ought, perhaps, to take מגדל-עדר-עפל, *Migdal-Edar-Ophel*, as a proper name, signifying, “the tower of Edar Ophel;” the epithet *Ophel* (*Caliginosa*, *Vulg.*, αὐχμηρῆς, LXX., or, as it may be also rendered, “of the hill”),

^b See Lightfoot, *Chorographical Decad.*, sect. 4, 5 (Works by Pitman, vol. x. p. 221, sq.)

having been, perhaps, added to distinguish it from the Tower of Edar near Bethlehem; so that the meaning will then be: "And thou, O Tower of Edar, of the hill, of the daughter of Zion" [i. e. of Jerusalem], "unto thee shall it come, even the first dominion."

That there was a place, and apparently a fortification, on, or near to, the walls of Jerusalem, which was called *Ophel*, is evident from 2 Chron. xxvii. 3 (where the Hebrew is, "on the wall of *the Ophel*," בְּרוֹחַמַת הָעֶפְלָי). Comp. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14, Neh. iii. 27, and xi. 21, where in every case the Masoretic punctuation understands the article, even when it is not expressed in the letters. And so Josephus, *De Bello Jud.*, lib. vi. c. 6, § 3, speaks of this place, τὸν Ὀφλᾶν καλούμενον ἰφῆψαν; so that it seems to have retained its name down to the latest period of Jewish history.—See Reland. *Palæst.*, p. 855, who infers that Ophel was not a hill, from its not having been so called by Josephus. On the other hand, one of the most recent authorities on the geography of the Holy Land interprets the word "a swelling mound," from עֶפְלָי, *to swell*. Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, App., § 26, p. 490.

It should be observed, in conclusion, that the Septuagint translators, in Gen. xxxv., transpose the mention of Migdal Edar, and make Jacob to have encamped there before, not after, he came to the place where Rachel died: they have, in fact (if the present text be correct) inserted ver. 21 after the word *Bothel* in ver. 16; and they render it ἐπηξε τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ πύργου Γαδέρ.

It was, probably, from the Septuagint, or from some Ante-Hieronymian Latin version founded on the Septuagint, that our Scholiast copied his spelling of the name *Turris Gadder* (p. 153, note); for "the Tower of *Gabder*," in the Preface to the present Hymn, is evidently a corruption of *Gadder*. But in the Preface, as given in the *Leabhar Breac* (see Note A, p. 182, *supra*) it is called "the tower *Ador*," as in the modern Latin Vulgate.

XI. THE MAGNIFICAT, OR HYMN OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

THERE is no need of any prefatory remarks to introduce to the reader the following well-known Hymn, which is taken from St. Luke, i. 46-55, and has formed a part of the service of the Church for at least a thousand years.

The following is a literal translation of the Scholiast's Preface, which is, as usual, in a mixture of Latin and Irish :—

Magnificat. Mary, the Mother of the Lord, made this Hymn ; and it was in the time of Octavianus Augustus she made it ; for in the forty-second year of his empire Christ was born ; and it was in a certain mountain city of the mountains¹ of the tribe of Judah in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem ; and this was the peculiar city of Zacharias. There John Baptist was born ; and it was to that city that Mary came to visit Elizabeth, when she heard that she was pregnant, i. e. in the sixth month². And it was there that speech was restored to Zacharias, and that he composed the *Benedictus* ; and it was then that she composed the *Magnificat*. And this was the cause³, viz., Mary came to visit Elizabeth the wife of Zacharias, because she heard that she was pregnant after a very long barrenness ; for all her relations were visiting her. Therefore Mary entering the door of her house, Elizabeth said, whilst the babe moved in her womb, Behold the mother of my Lord hath come to me. And for this reason they say that John prophesied before he was born ; and then Mary said, *Magnificat* ; and at that time Mary conceived her Son.

There is a copy of this Preface in the marginal notes to the Felire of Aengus in the Leabhar Breac (fol. 49, b, in marg. *inf.*), but it is so nearly identical with that here given, that it has not been thought worth while to transcribe it. The variations are little more than differences of spelling, or the use of Irish for Latin, and *vice versa*.

¹ *Of the mountains.*—See St. Luke, i. 39.

² *Sixth month.*—St. Luke, i. 36.

³ *The cause.*—i. e. the occasion on which the Hymn was composed.



MAGNIFICAT. Maria mater domini fecit hunc cōmnum. In tempore uero octauiani augurci fecit. in .xl. mo enim secundo anno imperii eius christus natus est. oculus ipse in arabe capharnaüm phabba hi tēpib iuda hi pail hierusalem, oculi ipse pedes capharnaüm gachap. ibi iohannes baptista natus est, et ipse don capharnaüm tanc mairē do pīr elisabeth in tan atchuala a bīth alacta .i. ipse t-pēd mīr. Oculi ipse in do natader labra do gachap et ipse in do pone gachap benedictus, et ipse in do ponat Magnificat. IS E imorro in pochunt .i. mairē tanc do pīr elisabeth petche gachap, ap it chuala a bīth corrach port longīrīmam pēpilitatem. Omnes enim cognati eius uirgabant. Intran epgo maria hortum domus suae elisabeth dixit cum motatione infancip in utero suo, En mater domini uenit ad me et ob id dicunt iohannem prophetare antequam natus esset. et tunc maria dixit magnificat, et in hoc tempore filium suum maria concepit.



MAGNIFICAT anima mea dominum
et exultauit spiritus meus in deo salu-
tari meo

Quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae
ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent
omnes generationes

Gloss.—1. *Anima*.—Ejus anima dominum magnificat qui omnes interioris hominis affectus diuinis laudibus ac seruitiis mancipat. 2. *Salutari*.—i. ut dicit psalmista Anima mea exultabit Deo et dilectabitur super salutari suo. 3. *Humilitatem*.—i. uirginitatem.

1. *Magnificat*.—A translation of the Preface has already been given, p. 186.

3. *Humilitatem*.—Under and over this line, in the form of a gloss, is the following note from Bede: “.i. Cujus humilitas respicitur recte ab omnibus beata cognominanda gratulatur, sicut e contrario superbia dispecta condemnatur Evæ. Ita sicut

intravit mors in mundum per superbiam Eusæ, per humilitatem Mariæ vitæ panditur introitus humano generi.” It is remarkable that the erroneous interpretation of the name of Eve, which occurs in this passage, as now printed by the editors of Bede, is here omitted. The words following “condemnatur Evæ” in the printed

Quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est
et sanctum nomen eius 5

et misericordia eius in progenies et progenies
timentibus eum

Fecit potentiam in brachio suo
disperxit superbos mente cordis sui 10

deposuit potentes de sede
et exaltauit humiles

esurientes impleuit bonis
et diuites demisit inanes

Suscepit israel puerum suum
memorare misericordiae suae 15

Gloss.—7. *Progenies*.—i. in omni gente qui timet eum et operatur iusticiam. 9. *Potentiam*.—i. quia omnia per filium Dei patris facta sunt, ideo eum brachium domini dicitur [sic]. 10. *Superbos*.—i. filios diabuli quia initium est omnis peccati superbia. 11. *Potentes*.—i. confidentes in uirtute sua. *De sede*.—i. superbia. 12. *Humiles*.—i. qui dicunt cum apostolo omnia posuimus in Christo. 13.—*Esurientes*.—i. satiabuntur perfecti quia eterna bona esuriunt. *Bonis*.—i. celestibus. 14. *Diuites*.—i. qui de terrenis diuitiis superbiunt inanes totius beatitudinis demittantur a domino in die iudicii. 15. *Suscepit*.—i. Deus.

editions are, "id est vae, sive calamitatis nomine mulctata tabescit." But the reading of our MS. is, probably, correct, and these words are the addition of some ignorant transcriber, not of Bede.—*Comment. in Luc. i.* (*Opp.* ed. Giles, x. p. 295).

6. *Sanctum nomen*.—Over this line is the following note from Bede: "Sanctum nomen ejus vocatur quia singularis culmine potentiae transcendit omnem creaturam." The printed editions of Bede read *potenti*, but "potentiae" is certainly better. The Gloss as given above on lines 7 and 8 is also from Bede.

7. *In progenies*.—"A progenie in progenies" (*Vulg.*); but "in progenies et pro-

genies," was the reading of Bede.

10. *Superbos*.—In the margin there is this note: "Commemorat hic beata Maria quomodo per omne labentis seculi tempus Creator justus ac misericors et superbis resistere et humilibus dare gratiam consuevit." This is, no doubt, from some ancient author. *Disperxit*.—Dispersit.—*Vulg.*

15. *Suscepit*.—In the margin is the following note from Bede: "Bene autem Domini et Johannis exortum matres profetando praeueniunt, ut sicut peccatum a mulieribus coepit, ita etiam bona a mulieribus incipiant, et quae per unius deceptionem periit, duabus certatim praeconan-

Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros
abraham et semini eius usque in seculum

Que maria plena gratia dominus tecum, benedicta tu inter
mulieres ⁊ benedictus fructus ventris tui. Spiritus sanctus
perveniet in te ⁊ uter tu alitum obumbrabit tibi

Gloss.—17. *Ad patres*.—i. ad patriarchas. 18. *Semini*.—i. non carnale sed spiritale semen significat i. filiis promissionis in Christo.

tibus mundo vita reddatur.”—*Comm. in Luc.* i. 55.

16. *Memorari*.—Recordatus, *Vulg.* Bede reads *Memorari*, and the Ante-Hieron. version (ap. Sabatier) has *memorid*.

18. *Semini*.—The gloss on this word is

from Bede. *Usque*.—Omitted in *Vulg.*, and in the Ante-Hieron. version edited by Sabatier from the MS. Colbert.

Ave Maria.—This is in the more angular character, already frequently spoken of, but by the original scribe.

XII. THE BENEDICTUS, OR HYMN OF ZACHARIAS.

THIS celebrated Hymn is taken from St. Luke i. 67-79; but the text differs both from the Ante-Hieronymian version and the modern Vulgate. Some of the more remarkable variations are given in the Notes. The Scholiast's Preface is in Latin, without any admixture of Irish. It may be thus translated :—

Benedictus Dominus. Zacharias, the father of John Baptist, made this Hymn (*hanc laudem*) to the Lord. And he made it in the time of Octavianus Augustus. The cause was this : Zacharias once on a time entered the temple to sacrifice for the people, after the manner of a priest, because he was born of the seed of Aaron, and of the course¹ of Abia in particular. It was the lot of his week; for from the time of David the priests were divided into twenty-four different courses², and each one exercised his ministry from Sabbath to Sabbath. For from the time of Aaron to David one succeeded the other³. Zacharias⁴ then, entering the temple, to make an offering for himself and for the people, looking to the right, saw the angel Gabriel sitting at the horn of the altar, who said to him, Fear not, for I have come not to bring thee fear, but joy. For Elizabeth shall bring forth unto thee a son, and he shall be called John, and he shall be great before God and men. And Zacharias said, How shall this be, seeing we have passed the time for having children? The angel answered, If a man were to promise thee this, thou mightest doubt his word; but I am an angel of God, and I stand in His presence, and I bring unto thee His words; and thou oughtest not to doubt what I have said; and, therefore, from this day until the boy is born, thou shalt not speak. And so it was, until that which was promised had been fulfilled. For Elizabeth conceived and bare a son, and the kinsmen inquired of his mother concerning the name of the boy, and his mother answered, He shall be called John; but others, contradicting, said that he should be called after the name of his father. But Elizabeth bade them ask his father to write the name of his son. Zacharias, therefore, being so called upon, spoke and said⁵, The boy shall be called John: and immediately he praised the Lord, saying, *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel.*

¹ *Course*.—"De vice [i. e. de vice] Abia." Luc. i. 5.

² *Courses*.—"Intercognitiones." The Vulg. uses the word *vices*. 1 Paral. xxiv. 19.

³ *The other*.—"Unus post unum tenebat."

⁴ *Zacharias*.—In the original "Stacharias."

—See p. 78, note on line 31, *supra*.

⁵ *Spoke and said*.—This varies from the Gospel narrative. It is curious that in the Book of Armagh the scribe had originally written *dixit*, but erased that word, and substituted "*scripsit dicens*."



benedictus dominus. Zachariar pater iohannis baptista fecit hanc laudem domino. In tempore uero octauiani augurati fecit. Causa autem aliquando ptachariar in templum ut immolaret populo more sacerdotali intravit. quia de semine aaron et de uice abia specialiter natus est. post eius septimanae fuit. A tempore enim dauid sacerdotium in xxiiii intercognitiones diuersarum diuersum est. et a sabbato usque ad sabbatum unusquisque ministerio suo utebatur. A tempore enim aaron usque ad dauid unus post unum tenebat. Intravit ergo ptachariar in templum ut pro se et populo offerret accipiens in dexteram angelum gabrielem sedentem in cornu altaris uidit et dicentem tibi Noli timere quia non ab timore tibi appendendum rebus ad gaudium ueni. Elizabeth enim pariet tibi filium et uocabitur iohannes et magnus erit coram deo et hominibus. et ptachariar dixit quomodo fiet hoc quoniam praecernimur nos tempus parienti. Angelus respondit, Si homo tibi hoc promitteret deber uerba eius dubitare, ego uero angelus dei sum, et confecto in praesentia eius, et uerba eius tibi posito, et non deber dubitare quae dixi. et ob id ab hac die usque puer natus non loquatur. et ita factum est, donec impletum est quod promissum est. Concepit enim elizabeth et peperit filium, et cognati de nomine pueri matrem eius interrogabant, et respondit mater eius iohannes uocetur. alii uero contrarietate dicebant nomine patris uocetur. Elizabeth autem dixit ut rogarent patrem ut scribat nomen filii sui. Zachariar uero ita rogatur locutus est et dixit, uocetur puer iohannes. et continuo laudauit dominum dicendo benedictus dominus deus israel.



BENEDICTUS dominus deus israel

quia uisitauit et fecit redemptionem plebis
suae

**et erexit cornu salutis nobis
in domu dauid pueri sui**

Gloss.—2. *Visitauit*.—i. plebem hanc visitando suam esse fecit; quia sua fidei sublimitate eam perfecit. 3. *Cornu*.—i. cornu salutis, firmam celsitudinem salutis dicit, cornu excedit carnem, et ideo cornu salutis regnum saluatoris christi vocatur.

1. *Benedictus*.—For a translation of Commentary on St. Luke, cap. i., al-
the Preface, see last page. The Gloss though the text of the Hymn does not
has been taken altogether from Bede's agree with that given in the printed works

Sicut locutus est per os sanctorum
prophetarum suorum qui ab deo sunt

5

Ut liberauit nos ab inimicis nostris
et de manu omnium qui nos oderunt

Ad faciendam misericordiam cum patribus nostris
et memorare testamenti sui sancti

10

Iurandum quod iurauit ad abraham
patrem nostrum daturum se nobis

Ut sine timore de manibus inimicorum nostrorum
liberati seruiamus illi

In sanctitate et iustitia coram ipso
omnibus diebus nostris

15

Et tu puer propheta altissimi uocaberis
praeibis enim ante faciem domini parare uias eius

Gloss.—6. *Prophetarum*.—Profetae specialiter appellati sunt, qui de aduentu Christi manifeste sunt locuti. *Ab aeo*.—i. ab initio. 7. *Liberavit*.—i. filius Dei. 8. *De manu*.—i. de potestate. *Omnium*.—i. inimicorum. *Qui nos oderunt*.—i. homines perversos et immundos spiritus significat. De manu quorum et interim spe salvi facti sumus et in futuro reipsa salvandi. 10. *Testamenti*.—i. disposuit Deus testamentum nos esse liberaturum de semine patriarcharum. 11. *Ad Abraham*.—i. fides gentium et sacrosanctus ecclesiae cultus est promissus Abraham, Domino ad eum dicente, In te benedicentur omnes gentes terrae. Dixit Dominus ad David, Cum impleveris dies tuos, ut vadas ad patres tuos, suscitabo semen tuum, et ego ero ei in patrem, et ipse erit mihi in filium, ipse aedificabit mihi domum. 15. *In sanctitate*.—i. ostendit hic profeta quomodo Domino seruiendum est, in sanctitate videlicet et iustitia. 17. *Altissimi*.—i. audiant mansueti quod Christum Dominum quem Johannes profetando praebit altissimum vocat. 18. *Praebis*.—i. in vitam et mortem. *Parare*.—i. ut dixit parate viam Domini rectas facite semitas Domini nostri. *Vias eius*.—i. Christi.

of that writer. It seems unnecessary to occupy space by pointing out these variations, or the abridgments and omissions in Bede's Commentary, necessary to reduce it to an interlinear gloss: any reader who has access to Bede can make this comparison for himself.

6. *Ab aeo*.—"Qui a seculo sunt prophetarum ejus."—*Vulg.*

7. *Et liberauit*.—This is the reading of the Ante-Hieronymian version, instead of "salutem ex inimicis nostris," as in the modern Vulgate.—See Sabatier, *in loc.*

10. *Memorare*.—For "memorari." Here our MS. has the reading of the modern Vulg. The old version was "et memoratus est."

13. *De manibus*.—"De manu."—*Vulg.*

α^d dāndam scientiam salutis plebi eius
IN REMISIONEM PECCATORUM EORUM

20

p^{er} uiscera misericordiæ dei nostri
IN QUIBUS VISITAVIT NOS ORIENS EX ALTO

IL^luminare his qui IN TENEBRIS ET UMBRA MORTIS SEDENT
ad DIRIGENDOS PEDES NOSTROS IN VIA PACIS

Puer autem crepercebat et confortabatur in spiritu et
erat in desertis locis usque ad diem ostensionis sue ad
Ippael.

Gloss.—19. *Scientiam*.—i. futuram. 22. *Oriens*.—i. Ecce vir, inquit profeta, oriens nomen eius, qui ideo recte oriens vocatur, qui nobis ortum veræ lucis aperiens, filios noctis et tenebrarum lucis effecit filios. 23. *Illuminare his*.—i. his qui in peccatis et ignorantie cecitate vixerunt, agnitionis amorisque sui radios infundere. 24. *Pedes nostros*.—Pedes nostri in viam pacis diriguntur cum actionum nostrarum iter per omnia redemptoris nostri gratiæ concordat.

Puer autem.—i. predicator penitentis futurus, optimum est ut solitudinis aspera sequatur.

17. *Altissimi*.—In the gloss on this word the allusion to the Arians in Bede is omitted. Bede's words are: "Audiant sane Arriani, et erubescant; audiant mansueti, et lætentur, quod Christum Dominum quem Johannes prophetando præibat, Altissimum vocat." The allusion is to Ps. xxxiii. 3, *Vulg.*

22. *Oriens*.—The Gloss refers to Zech. vi. 12; and is taken from Bede on Luc. i. 78.

23. *Sedent*.—Here our MS. follows the

modern *Vulg.* The old version was, "qui in tenebris sunt, et in umbra mortis sedentibus."

24. *In via*.—In viam. *Vulg.*

Puer autem.—This verse, which is from St. Luke, i. 80, is in the smaller character. It differs from the modern *Vulg.* in reading "*in spiritu*" for *spiritu*; and "*desertis locis*" for *desertis*: but agrees with it in reading "*ostensionis*" instead of "*progressionis*," as in the older version. See Sabatier, *in loc.*

XIII. TE DEUM LAUDAMUS.

THIS celebrated Hymn has no Preface, like the other Hymns in this volume, if we except the short title, "Hæc est Laus Sanctæ Trinitatis quam Augustinus sanctus, et Ambrosius composuit."

This is an evident allusion to the legend, that the hymn was composed at the baptism of St. Augustine, one verse being uttered by him, and the next, alternately, by St. Ambrose, who baptized him. The earliest authority for this story is believed to be the Chronicle once attributed to Dacius, Bishop of Milan, A. D. 527, but now known to be of a much later date, inasmuch as it carries on the history to A.D. 1067 (*vid. Cave, Hist. Liter., sub Dacio*, tom. i. p. 511, Oxon. 1740). But from the allusion to it here, it appears that the story was more widely known at that period, and had found its way to Ireland.

Abbo of Fleuri¹ attributes the authorship of the *Te Deum* without hesitation to St. Hilary of Poitiers. He calls it "Dei palinodia, quam composuit Hilarius Pictaviensis episcopus," and suggests that the reading *suscepisti* (which must, therefore, have been ancient, and which, it will be observed, is the reading of our MS.) is erroneous; for he says it ought to be, "Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem," &c. Accordingly, this has ever since been, or at least is now, the received reading, although it is very doubtful whether the old *suscepisti* was not better. See note on the passage, p. 197, line 23, *infra*.

Archbishop Ussher appears to have had in his possession a copy of the Irish Book of Hymns, in which the *Te Deum* was ascribed to one Nicetas²;

¹ *Abbo of Fleuri*.—Quoted by the Bened. editors of St. Hilary's works, *Pref.*, p. vii. n. 22. The passage occurs in the "Prologus in Abbonis libellum de Grammatica," written by Abbo in the form of a letter on the occasion of his mission to England, A. D. 985,

and addressed to the English monks of his order. It is published by Mabillon, *Annal.*, lib. xlix. n. 69, tom. iv. p. 29, and *Append.*, p. 687.

² *Nicetas*.—See above, p. 9; and Ussher's Works, by Elrington, vii. 300.

and he adds that, in a Gallican Psalter³, then in the Cotton Library, written about the time of Henry I. (A.D. 1100), it is attributed to St. Nicetius, who may, perhaps, be the Bishop of Treves (A.D. 541), or the Bishop of Lyons of the same name (A.D. 570), or some other, but probably the same to whom the Irish authority attributed it under the name of Nicetas.

An excellent summary of what has been written on the question of the authorship of this Hymn will be found in the notes of Meratus to the *Thesaur. Sacror. Rituum* of Barth. Gavantus, *Aug. Vind.*, 1763, fol., tom. ii. p. 162, sq. See also Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, vol. ii. p. 279, sq.

In the Antiphonary of Bangor the *Te Deum* is entitled, "Hymnus in die Dominico." The readings of this MS., as edited by Muratori, are marked B. in the following Notes.

³ *Psalter*.—"In Latino-Gallicoquoque psalterio, circa tempore Henrici I. exarato inscribitur iste hymnus Sancti Niceti (Hibernicæ nostræ traditioni satis consentaneæ) sive Tre-

verensis hic intelligendus fuerit Nicetius sive Lugdunensis, sive quis alius."—*Ibid.* This Psalter no longer exists in the remains of the Cotton Library in the British Museum.



hec erc laur panctae Trinitatir quam Augustinur panctur et Ambrosiur compoſuit.



LAUDATE pueri dominum
laubate nomen domini

Te deum laudamus
te dominum confitemur

Te aeternum patrem
omnis terra ueneratur

5

Tibi omnes angeli
tibi caeli et uniuersae potestates

Tibi hiruphin et Saraphin
incessabili uoce proclamant dicentes
sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus sabaoth

10

Pleni sunt celi et uniuersa terra
honore gloriae tuae

Gloss.—3. *Laudamus*.—i. ore, vel opere. 4. *Confitemur*.—i. corde. 11. *Sanctus*.—i. sanctus ter dicitur, quia unus et trinus est deus. 12. *Uniuersa terra*.—i. aeclesia per quadratum orbem diffusa non desinit laudare et orare deum.

1. *Laudate*.—This verse prefixed to the *Te Deum* is from Ps. cxii. 1., *Vulg.* It occurs also in B.

7. *Hiruphin*.—In the margin there is the following note: "Sciendum est quod hiruphim et saraphim per .m. litteram prolata iuxta proprietatem linguae ebraeae masculini sunt et pluralis numeri tantum.

Si autem per .n. litteram dicantur graeca sunt et neutri generis, et pluralis numeri." In B. we have "Cherubim et Seraphim;" but Muratori has everywhere altered the orthography of the MS.

10. *Dicentes*.—*Om. B. and Vulg.* But it is found in the Vat. MS. 82, cited by Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, ii. p. 298.

Te gloriosus apostolorum chorus
te profetarum laudabilis numerus 15

Te martirum candidatus laudat exercitus
te per orbem terrarum sancta conpictetur aeclesia

Patrem immensae maiestatis tuae
uenerandum tuum uerum et unigenitum filium

Sanctum quoque paracletum spiritum 20
tu rex gloriae christe

Tu patris sempiternus es filius
tu ad liberandum mundum suscepisti hominem

Non horruisti uirginis uterum 25
tu deuicto mortis aculeo
aperuisti credentibus regna caelorum

Gloss.—14. *Apostolorum*.—i. misorum. 15. *Profetarum*.—i. providentium. 16. *Martirum*.—
i. fidelium.

12. *Universa terra*.—B. also reads *uni-
versa*; but the word is omitted in the Vul-
gate text of this Hymn.

13. *Honore*.—So also B. The common
text has *Majestatis*.

18. *Tuae*.—*Om.* B. *Tuae* is omitted
also in the Vulgate text of this Hymn.

19. *Unigenitum*.—The Vulgate text is
unicum. But B., as also the *Cod. Tho-
masii Alex.*, cited by Daniel, *ubi supr.*, read
unigenitum. B. omits *et*.

23. *Tu ad liberandum*.—The common
reading is, "Tu, ad liberandum suscep-
tus hominem," which is rendered in
the Prayer-Book of the Anglican Church,
"When Thou tookest upon Thee to deli-
ver man." But "ad liberandum suscep-
tus hominem" would seem rather to

mean, "when Thou wast about to take
upon Thee man [i. e. human nature], for
the purpose of deliverance, Thou didst
not abhor," &c. Perhaps the translators
of the English Prayer-Book may have
intended the insertion of a parenthesis,
"when Thou tookest upon Thee (to deli-
ver) man, Thou didst not abhor," &c.
But it would be very difficult to make
this intelligible in reading. Some of the
old English versions which we find in the
Primers of the fifteenth century appear to
have omitted *suscepturus*, for they read,
"Thou wert not skoymous [squeamish] of
the maydens womb to delyuer mankind."
—Maskell, *Mon. Rit. Eccl. Anglic.*, vol. ii.
p. 14. Others seem to have connected
suscepturus and *virginis uterum*, "Thou

Tu ab dexteram dei sedes in gloria patris
iudex crederis esse venturus

Tu ergo quæssimus nobis tuis famulis subueni
quos pretioso sanguine redemisti

30

Eternam pac cum sanctis tuis gloriam munerari
saluum pac populum tuum domine
et benedic hereditati tue
et rege eos et extolle illos usque in seculum

Gloss.—32. *Populum*.—i. christianum. 33. *Hereditati*.—i. ecclesiae. 34. *Rege*.—i. in bonis operibus. *Extolle*.—i. defende. *In seculum*.—i. in vita aeterna.

wert noȝt skoymes to take the maiden es wombe, for to deliver mankynde."—*Ibid.*, p. 231. In the Primer of 1535, as edited by Dr. Burton (*Three Primers put forth in the Reign of Henry VIII.*, Oxford, 1834, p. 82), this verse is thus rendered: "Thou (when Thou shouldest take upon Thee our nature to deliver man) didst not abhor the virgin's womb." It appears from these discrepancies that there was anciently a difficulty in the interpretation of this passage.—Comp. Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, ii. 299. But our MS. agrees with B., inserting the word *mundum*, and giving *suscepisti* for *suscepturus*. These readings remove all difficulty, and are very probably the true text: "Thou tookest upon Thee man to deliver the world; Thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb: Having overcome the sting of death, Thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to believers."

27. *Sedes*.—This is the modern reading. But B. has *sedens*, which is better. *In gloria patris*.—It is doubtful whether

the construction should be *sedes* [*sedens*] in *gloria Patris*—"Thou sittest at the right hand of God in the glory of the Father," or, in *gloria Patris iudex venturus*, "We believe that Thou shalt come, in the glory of the Father, to be our Judge."

29. *Tu*.—Te, B., which is also the modern text. *Nobis*.—Omitted in Vulg. text. But B. reads *nobis*. *Quæssimus*.—For *Quæsumus*.

31. *Eternam fac*.—The common text, as given in the Roman Breviary, and translated in the English Prayer-Book, is, "*Æterna fac cum sanctis tuis in gloria numerari*," "Make them to be *numbered* with thy saints, in glory everlasting." But B. and all copies of the *Te Deum* which I have seen in any MS. older than the sixteenth century, have, "*Eterna fac cum sanctis tuis* [B. omits *tuis*] *gloria munerari*," or "in [or cum] *gloria munerari*," which the old English versions published by Mr. Maskell render, "Make hem to be rewardid with thi seyntis: in blisse, with everlastinge glorie (*Mo*

per singulos dies benedicimus te
et laudamus nomen tuum in aeternum
et in seculum seculi.

35

Fiat domine misericordia tua super nos
quemadmodum speravimus in te.

Gloss.—35. *Per singulos dies.*—i. in prosperis et in adversis sine ullo intervallo te benedicimus.
38. *Fiat.*—i. oratio ecclesiae.

num. Rit. ii. 14), or "Make hem to be rewarded with thi seyntis in endeles blisse" (*ibid.*, 230, 232); and every one acquainted with the black letter writing of the fifteenth century will at once see how easily *munerari* may be mistaken for *numerari*. That *munerari* is the true reading, can scarcely, I think, admit of a doubt; but *aeternam* and *gloriam* are certainly corrupt, and scarcely make sense. We ought, evidently, to read *eterna* and *gloria*, as in B. It is also clear that the English Prayer-Book and older versions have misinterpreted this passage by the insertion of the word *them*: "Make them," &c.; for the construction plainly is, "Quos redemisti fac munerari," and the verse, "whom thou hast redeemed," ought therefore to be connected with that which follows, not with that which precedes: "We therefore pray Thee help Thy servants: make Thou to be rewarded with Thy saints, in glory everlasting, those whom Thou hast redeemed with Thy precious blood." Daniel says: "Procul dubio in hac voce" [*munerari*] "tenes scripturam antiquissimam et genuinam. *Numerari* primum occurrit in Brev. Italis v. c. in Franc. anni 1495" [i. e. a Franciscan Breviary, printed at Venice in that

year]. "et Lg." [by these letters he refers to the *Heures a l'usage de Lengres*, printed at Troyes, without a date]. "Seculo decimo sexto ecclesia Romana in ejusmodi litibus interdum *italiζουσα* recentiorem scripturam in textum recepit."—*Loc. cit.*

32. *Salvum fac.*—This is Ps. xxvii. 9. *Vulg.* The *Te Deum*, properly so called, ends at line 31: all that follows is from the Psalms, and, as will be seen (see note on line 38), was varied at different times, and in different MSS.

34. *In seculum.*—Ad seculum, B. The common text reads, "in aeternum."

35. *Per singulos.*—This is Ps. cxliv. 2, *Vulg.*, with the change of *benedicimus* and *laudamus* for *benedicam* and *laudabo*.

36. *In aeternum.*—The common text reads *in seculum*. B. reads *in aeternum*.

37. *Seculi.* B. adds *Amen*.

38. *Fiat Domine.*—Ps. xxxii. 22, *Vulg.* The common text reads, "Fiat misericordia tua, Domine," but B. agrees with our MS. Between lines 37 and 38 our MS. omits the two verses of the common text, "Dignare Domine, die isto, sine peccato nos custodire: miserere nostri Domine, miserere nostri;" and after v. 38 it also omits the verse, "In te Domine speravi: non confundar in aeternum." And the

Te patrem adoramus eternum. te sempiternum filium inuocamus. teque spiritum sanctum in una diuinitatis substantia manentem confitemur.

Tibi uni deo in trinitate debitas laudes ⁊ gratias referimus ut te inceppabili uoce laudare mereamur per eterna secula.

same verses are omitted in B. These are, therefore, in all probability, interpolations of a later date. The last is obviously taken from Ps. xxxi. 1, or Ps. lxxi. 1, and *Miserere nostri* is from Tob. viii. 10 (*Vulg.*) The other verse, *Dignare Domine*, occurs, as Ussher has remarked, in the Greek *Hymnus Vespertinus*, which he has published in his *Tract. de Symbolo Romanæ Ecclesiæ*, p. 43 (*Works*, Elrington's edit., vol. vii. p. 337); and he might have added, that there also it is preceded by

the, verse, *Per singulos dies*, from Pa. cxliv. 2.

Te patrem. — What follows, although by the same scribe, is in a somewhat different and more angular character, and was not, therefore, intended as a part of the *Te Deum*. It does not occur in B.; but Ussher found it in his copy of the *Liber Hymnorum*, and quotes it without any variation, as above, except that the concluding words were in his copy, “per eterna secula seculorum. Amen.”

XIV. THE HYMN OF ST. COLUMBA, "ALTUS PROSATOR."

THE following Hymn was first printed by Colgan from an ancient copy of the Book of Hymns, supposed to be that which is now at St. Isidore's in Rome. He tells us that in that MS. it had two Prefaces, partly in Latin and partly in Irish, of which he has given only the substance; and that there were Arguments prefixed to each stanza, of which he has translated the Irish words¹ that occurred intermixed with Latin in the original, his object in the publication having been historical or religious, not philological. It is evident, however, that the text of the Hymn, as Colgan has printed it, is in many places corrupt, arising from errors of the press, or of transcription, so that there is great need of a more correct and careful edition of it. But it unfortunately happens that a leaf of the Dublin MS. is lost, which renders the present text imperfect from stanza O to X, inclusive: and the only other copy of the Hymn to which the Editor has access,—that preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, a MS. of the fifteenth century, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy,—is even still more defective, all being lost after stanza H. We must, therefore, still depend upon Colgan's copy for the missing stanzas.

The *Altus* of St. Columba, in one account of it, is said to have been composed as a penitential exercise for the three battles², of which he had been the occasion in Ireland;—but a second tradition, recorded also in the Preface, tells us that it was an extemporaneous effusion. The former account represents it to have been composed, after seven years of study, in the Black Church of Derry,

¹ *Irish words*.—"Hymnus primus habuit duas præfationes, partim Latino, partim Hibernico idiomate præfixas, quarum summam tantum hic exhibemus. Singulæ etiam strophæ, seu capitula, habent præfixa sua argumenta, quæ ab aliquo veteri Scholiasta videntur adjectæ, in quibus nihil immutavimus,

nisi quod quædam hinc inde interjecta verba Hibernica, reddamus Latina."—Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 473.

² *Battles*.—See Reeves's *Adamnan*, p. 253, who quotes the preface as given in the *Leabhar Breac*; which will be found, with a translation, in Addit. Note A.

in Ireland: the latter states that it was uttered extemporaneously in Hy. Few can doubt that, if we are to treat such legends as deserving of criticism, the former is in every point of view the more probable tradition. O'Donnell¹ (if we may trust Colgan's version) omits all mention of the occasion on which the Hymn was composed.

It is remarkable that the *Altus* has not been mentioned by Adamnan; but this circumstance cannot, perhaps, be urged as an argument against the authenticity of the Hymn, because the plan of Adamnan's work did not necessarily require him to notice the writings of St. Columba. If, however, a mission from St. Gregory the Great to the distant Abbot of Hy had been the occasion of a miraculous composition of this Hymn,—and miraculous it must have been, if so elaborate a production had been extemporaneous,—it would very naturally have fallen within the scope of St. Adamnan's memoir; and the circumstance could scarcely have been omitted by him, if he had known of it. We may, therefore, fairly conclude, that this legend, at least, if not the Hymn itself, was unknown to Adamnan.

But there is no reason why we should reject the former and less marvellous tradition—that the Hymn, if genuine, was composed in Ireland, before St. Columba's removal to Hy; and it is probable that the story of a mission from Rome to that *Ultima Thule* of Christendom, with gifts and relics presented by Pope Gregory the Great to Columba, was a legend invented after the time of Adamnan.

The Hymn is written in a rude Latinity, each strophe of six (or, as in the first stanza, seven) double lines, beginning with a letter of the alphabet in order; the metre a species of Trochaic dimeter, or tetrameter, as Bede calls it (see p. 163, note ^h), to be scanned without synalephe, with a rhyme or assonance at the end of the lines. Thus the first strophe, divided into its lines, will be as follows:—

Altus prositor vetustus,
Dierum et ingenitus,
Erat absque origine,
Primordi et crepidine,
Est et erit in secula,
Seculorum infinita.
Cui est unigenitus

Christus et Sanctus Spiritus.
Coeternus in gloria
Deitatis perpetua.
Non tres Deos depromimus,
Sed unum Deum dicimus,
Salva fide in personis
Tribus gloriosissimis.

¹ O'Donnell.—*Vit. quinta S. Columba*, lib. ii. c. 20, 21, ap. Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 412.

See Addit. Note A, where the passage from O'Donnell is given.

There cannot be a doubt that the Hymn is of considerable antiquity, and that it is Irish. It quotes in many places a Latin version of the Scriptures older than the recension of St. Jerome; it is written in a barbaric style, with many words of rare occurrence—some of them unknown even to the researches of Du Cange. Dr. Reeves has noticed the word *Dialis*, which seems peculiar to this Hymn and to Adamnan, in the sense of *divine*, *sacred*¹. Some other examples will be pointed out in the Notes.

In the following pages the Hymn has been printed as in the MS., with two lines in one—the double line consisting of sixteen syllables, as stated in the ancient Preface.

To each strophe, or stanza, is prefixed a Scholium, containing what the *Vetus Scholiasta*, as Colgan terms him, calls "The Title" and "The Argument." The *Title* is a short summary, in Latin, of the subject treated of in the stanza to which it is prefixed. The *Argument* is a text—sometimes two or more texts—of Scripture, on which the principal thought or subject-matter of the stanza is founded. Thus *The Title* of stanza A is, "*De Unitate et Trinitate trium Personarum.*" The *Argument* (Dan. vii. 9), "*Vetustus dierum sedebat super sedem suam.*" See these Scholia translated in Addit. Note C.

In the Additional Notes will be found the Preface as given in the *Leabhar Breac*, with the Gloss and Scholia of the same MS.; the Preface, as abridged and translated into Latin by Colgan from the MS. supposed to be now in Rome; and an attempt to give an English translation of the entire Hymn.

In the notes at the bottom of the pages the various readings of Colgan's printed copy are marked C.; and those of the MS. fragment in the *Leabhar Breac* are marked B.

¹ See Reeves, *Adamnan. Glossar. in voce.*



LOCUS huius fanni hī. Tempus Aedān meico Dabādān nōg Alban, ocup Aeda meico Annmepēch nīg hepenān. Mupiciur autem uel pōccar ipse ba nī romān tunc. Pēpso Collumcille de nobile genēne pōctōpūm. Columba dicitur ut ērt epōce pprudentē pīcut pēpntē et pīmplicē pīcut columbae. Caurā quia uoluit deum laudare. Pēp pēpām annor hunc fannū pēputant in nīgna cellula pīne lumīne .i. ap chuinchib dīlgūba in inab cacha cule dīemne do bīpīud pōp Dīapmāc mac Cēpbaill. 7 na cacha aile nō bīpīce ēne na fōdūn. Uel ut alī dīcunt, ip co hōpūnn do pōnab .i. apāile lache nō bōi columcille in hī, 7 nī bōi nech oca aōc bōtchfn, 7 nō bōi bīab occu aōc epīachap cōpca. Apbērc iapūm Columcille pīpī bōīchīn, Do pōlet oīgīb huapīu cucūnn mōiū a bōīchīn .i. mūmēpī Dīpīguīp tanoacap cōnapcebaib dōpōm; 7 apbērcpōm pīpī bōīchfn, bī fōpīpī icpīpīchalām na nōgēb cōndīgūppa dōn mūlīūnn. Dīabīdīpōm pāip a ēne dīapāile chlōīch bōī ip mō pēclēp .i. blachnat a hānnm, 7 mārāib bēop, 7 ip fūpīpī do dīnīchep pōīnn ipīn pīpīpōīcīg. ba epōm ēpā lēpōm a ēne, cōndēpīna in īmmūnpā epīa oīp apīgīpēch, o ēa pēn cōndīce in mūlēnn .i. abīucōp labōpāncīūm 7c. In tēn īmōpīpō do pāc in cēt fōcā ip in mūlēnn ip ānn do chūab īcēnn in chēcna cāpīcīll, ocup ip īmmāille pōpcaīch in bōlc do blīch 7 in īmmūnn do dēnam. Ocup ip co hōpōnn do pōnab pīa. Ip in choīcīud blīabān pēpcat ap .cccc. iap nīgēn epīpce do chūab colum cille do hī, ut bēba dīcīc, anno dōmīnīcae īncāpnācīōnīp .cccccīx. quo tēmpōpē gūbēpnacūlūm pōmānī īmpēpīpī pōpce iupēcīanūm iupēcīmūp mīnōpī accēpīc. Uenīc de hībēpnīa pīpēpīcēp et abbāp hābīcū et uīca mōnāchī īnpīgīnīp nōmīne Columbī dīpīcōnīam pīpēbīcatūpūp uēpbum Dēī pīpōūncīpīpī pēpīcīpīcīōnālīūm pīcōpūm. Dīpūbī autēn pīlūp Mēlchōn pēgēbat pīcōp tūnō, et ipīe īmmolāuīc cōlumbō hī, ubī columbūp cūm ēpīpēc annōpūm .lxxvī. pēpūlcūp ēpce. Pōpce uēpō .xxxiī. ex quo ipīe dīpīcānīam pīpēbīcatūpūp abīuc.

Rucab epā in īmmōnpā do dīpīguīp pāip, īcōmmām na nāpceba tuccha huab .i. in dīpōīp, .i. in mōpīgēn a hānnpīpīde, 7 īmmām na pēchēmāme. Ro clōīmclōīpēc īmōpīpō na īmmām. chūīpīchīde epī cāpīcīl ānn do pōnab Dīpīguīp .i. hīc pūblacūp, ocup oīpēnī, 7 uāgacūp. O dōchōcāp īmōpīpō ī cēnn cāīpēncā mō īmmūnn do dīpīguīp, do dēochatāp ānnīgīl de cōmbīcīpī īnnāpēpīpōm cōpīpōīchēb lēpōm in cāpīcīl pēn, atēpīpīgēb dīpīguīp ap a pōīnn pēom cōnnīce pēn. O pōpēchēb īmōpīpō pēn nō pābīcīpī īnnā hāngīl, nō pāīdēb dīnā Dīpīguīp, co cāpīcīc īncīmmūnn pōndīnnāp pīn. Ro chochlaīg epā Dīpīguīp a cōīpīpēnā cucūpōm apīpō pīcīpīpēom īce nō chōīmchlōīpēc. atēpīpīacpōm dīnā ba hīac. 7 pōpībōē dīlgūb dē. Ocup atēpīpīdīpōm nōbbāī lōchē pōpī pīn īmmūnn aōc a lāīgēc do mōlāb in epīnōīc ānn pēpī pē, cīa nō mōlāb epīa na būlīb. Ocup do pōachē in cīnchpēchāpīpīn co columcille, 7 ipē pēīn pōchūn dēnmā in tē chīpīpce. Oīp apīgīpēch pīl hīc mōpē ēbīpēo, apīpīdīpīpī cāchālēba tucab pōcha in cāpīcīlīpē .i. epīcētem oēnatāb co pōīpīcīn epēbatāb. Tēpē pīchīm dīnā do pōnab, 7 bī ēpīnāīl pūīpīpīpīde .i. apīcīpīcīalīp 7 uūlgāpīp. Apīcīpīcīalīp ubī pīunc epāīgīb cōmām

reirba compoblaide cocurummar po airre 7 ceir. 7 conop rubrequent c' illoc ppe-
cedentir innatuarlucab. uulgarir imorpo du imbi impecta pillab 7 cechnamchin
ocur lechnann, 7 iped ón fil híc. Sé líne dña in cech cairteil. 7 .xvi. pillaba cech
lmi cen mocha in cet cairteil. vii. líne imorpo androm ar ip molab de fil annróe.
Cubab dña ind numuir ecucurummarin ppiur na cairteil archena ar ecucurumma dia
ppia bulib. Numir peda autem in oreaturir quia rex diebur factae sunt.
Oportet titulum et argumentum esse ante unumquemque capitulum.

Ropé epa dlizeb gabala huiur smni oo na gabcha quir potest Deo etir cech da cairteil, 7
ip de no biad a pach fair airir amlaib po chanat ppiur. Actaat epa pacha imba por
ind immuir, .i. aingil ipneanacur ceinbechir io o gabail. Ni pinnpa demun péc mcl
nob gēba cech dia. 7 ni imberpat dña namait he ipind lo in gēba. ocur dña na bi
debaib ip in eiz inhēbthar cognatich. Angib dña ar cech rībar aót ec ppi
adapit. 7 dña ni bia gōpta na noōta ip in pūpt in gēbāp commēce 7 aliae multae
pūnt.

ISSC in titul de unitate 7 trinitate epium pepponurum. Ip p
imorpo ind angamaint in chanoin pōppa pōchaigcep in cairteil ut in
Danielo uel in Epāia legitur, Ueturur diepum pebebat rupep rebem
puam. Ueturur diepum aeternur temporum epat. Ueturur diepum
deur dicur, ppo multitudine diepum ante quor deur epat, uel
quia puit [ante] omnia tempora. Canoin dña pacha do bepreom
inte quia ipre pprofeta puit. Ocur ó Daniul pampuib tuc ar ipre
po po bebenchu 7 po po poeriu. Ipe dña Columcille po po beben-
chu 7 po po poeriu do pāchib hēpenn.

ALTUS prositor uetustus dierum et ingenitus
erat absque origine primordii et crepitudine
est et erit in secula seculorum infinita
cui est unigenitus christus et sanctus spi-
ritus
coaeternus in gloria dietatis perpetuae ;
non tris deos depromimus sed unum deum
dicimus
salua fide in personis tribus gloriosissimis

Gloss.—1. *Prositor*.—i. genitor, .i. incabbul . . . [the awful . . .]. *Uetus-*
tus.—i. eternus, .i. pinichir na naimper, .i. pini 7 coirpech diap tempōna [i. senior
of the times, .i. elder and first of our times]. *Dierum*.—i. temporum. 2. *Absque ori-*
gine.—i. cen athar no cen bunab [without father, or without origin]. 3. *Secula*.
—i. futurorum. *Seculorum*.—i. praesentium. 4. *Unigenitus*.—Primogenitus, quia nemo
ante ipsum est, unigenitus quia nemo post ipsum est. *Christus*.—Misiis ebraice, Christus
grece, Unctus latine. 7. *Salua*.—i. integra.

1. *Altus*.—For a translation of the Preface, and of the Scho-
lia or arguments prefixed to each stanza,
see Add. Notes A and C. It will be ob-

1Se in titul. De formatione. 1x. graduum. eribur ppaeceruipir non per ignoranciam sed pro angustia capituli ppaeceruipir. 1S1 monro ino angamant. Fiat lux 7 facta est.

bONOS CREAVIT ANGELOS ORDINES ET ARCHANGELOS
PRINCIPATUM AC SEDIVM POTESTATUM VIRTUTUM.
UTI NON ESSET BONITAS OTIOSA AC MAIESTAS
TRINITATIS IN OMNIBUS LARGITATIS MUNERIBUS
SED HABERET CELESTIA IN QUIBUS PREVIGILIA
OSTENDERET MAGNOPERE POSSIBILI PATIMINE.

10

Gloss.—8. *Archangelos*.—i. bonos. 9. *Sedivm*.—i. troni. *Virtutum*.—i. causa rithmi. 10. *Uti*.—i. ut. *Bonitas*.—i. benevolentia. *Otiosa*.—i. sine operatione. .i. antach no bismam cenmaine boépmiub [dilatatory or lazy, without giving away goods]. 12. *Haberet*.—i. ut. *Celestia*.—i. elementa vel ministeria. *Previgilia*.—i. napemabba 7 na honore, .i. cech grad opaliu [i. e. the pre-eminences and honors, i. e. of each more beautiful grade], .i. quasi privata lex. 13. *Magnopere*.—i. on mópnim. no in mopgneheb, .i. commór, .i. ónb airnep pochmai, .i. on molab pochmai do bepat angil dicenter panctur panctur panctur dominur [i. e. from the great deed, or the great agent, .i. very great, .i. from the glorious testimony, .i. from the glorious praise which the angels give, saying, Holy, Holy, Holy Lord].

served that in the Scholium prefixed to this stanza, Dan. vii. 9, is quoted from an Ante-Hieronymian version: *vetustus*, not *antiquus*, dienum. It is curious that the scholiast seems uncertain whether this passage was in Daniel or Isaiah: but the words "vel in Esaia" were probably the insertion of some transcriber. They occur in C, but not in B. *Prosator*.—Pro-sator, C. Prosetor, B. *Prosator* is Father, Creator, from *prosero*, to bring forth, beget. The Gloss explains the word *genitor*. The Isidorian Glossaries have "*Prosatrix*, genetrix." *Opp. Isidori Hisp.*, tom. vii. (*Append.*, xxiv. p. 483) 4°, Romæ, 1803. *Dierum*.—To be read as a trisyllable.

2. *Primordii*.—Primordio, C. Primordi, B. It must be pronounced *Primordi* to suit the metre. *Crepidine*.—Κρηνίς, *border, edge, foundation*. *Crepido* is used frequently in the Vulgate, Ex. ii. 5; Lev. i. 15; Judic. vii. 22, *et alibi*. The Greek

Κρηνίς is explained, *gradus, basis, ripa, fundamentum*, *Glossar. in Octateuch*: κρηνίς, *fundamentum, basis*. Ezek. xliii.

14. *Aquil*. and *Vulg*.

4. *Christus*.—The Gloss on this word is from Isidor. *Etymolog.*, lib. xvii. c. 2, n. 6.

5. *Deitatis*.—Deitatis, C. *Perpetuas*.—Perpetua, C. A more recent hand has written "vel a" over the final ae in the MS. Perpetua is necessary to rhyme with *gloria*.

6. *Tris*.—Tres, C. *Dicimus*.—"Dñm," C., an evident mistake; for *Dominum* would be inconsistent with the rhyme.

7. *Salva*.—Under this line are the words In ipir chathalacba [the Catholic faith], with some other words very obscure, but which may be read 7 pop a incharb dompa [may I be on its protection].

DE TRANSMIGRATIONE .i. graduum principij, ipe in cicul. Ap mb apocallip imorpo do bepari mb argamaint id epc ubi pcellam de celo cecidire in ceppam. 7 in epala, quomodo cecidiret lucifer qui mane oriebari.

Celi de regni apice stationis angelicæ
claritate præfulgoris uenustate speciminis
superbiendo ruerat lucifer quem formauerat
apostataeque angeli eodem lapsu lugubri
auctoris cenodoxiae peruicacis inuidiae
ceteris remanentibus in suis principatibus.

15

Gloss.—15. *Speciminis*.—i. mgnec [form, beauty]. 16. *Lucifer*.—i. lucem ferens. *Formauerat*.—i. Deus. 17. *Apostata*.—i. ruerant, .i. na haingil bipeimnecha, .i. onbipuno cuicim [i. the lapsed angels, .i. from their lamentable fall]. *Lugubri*.—i. choimtech [lamentable], .i. uaduib rem 7 alur [from themselves and others] quia demones suum lapsum lugent. 18. *Cenodoxiae*. .i. inanis gloria vel superbia, vel na glorie epcone [the common glory] nam cenon grece comune latine dicitur, .i. epcon [common] doxia vero gloria. *Pervicacis*. Pervicax dicitur qui in proposito suo p-rsuerat usque in victoriam. 19. *Ceteris*.—i. angelis.

8. *Bonos*.—In the Scholium prefixed to this stanza, or *capitulum*, the text *Fiat lux* is quoted as the record of the creation of angels, who are generally assumed by divines to have been included in the word *Light*.—See Isidor. Hispal., *Sentent.*, lib. i. c. 10, n. 3, who says, "ante omnem creaturam angeli facti sunt, dum dictum est, *Fiat lux*." The nine orders or degrees of angels are usually enumerated thus: Angeli, Archangeli, Throni, Dominationes, Virtutes, Principatus, Potestates, Cherubim, Seraphim. See Isidor. Hispal., *Etymolog.*, lib. vii. c. 5. Of these our author mentions only six, omitting three (viz., Dominationes, Cherubim, and Seraphim), which the Scholiast tells us were omitted, not because he was ignorant of them, but because he found it impossible to bring them into the limits of his verse. The Gloss informs us that the author gave the name of *sedes* to one of these orders, instead of

throni, and that he wrote *virtutum*, instead of *virtutum*, for the sake of the metre. In the margin there are the following notes: one in Latin (which the Editor has not found in the works of Isidore)—"Ante omnem diem et ante omne tempus condidit Deus angelicam creaturam et informem materiam, Isidorus dicit." The other in Irish:—Ipe aipe po fèchmall hiruphín 7 rapaphín pèch na h' aile apice ata ría o domib iap netaipgnú 7 acpèb. Ipeac po .i. na .ix. ñgradora .i. angeli archangeli uirtutep potestater principatur dominationep tponi hiruphim 7 rapaphim. ["The reason he has passed over the Hiruphin and Saraphin beyond the others is, because they are farther from men in their distance and residence. And these are the nine orders, viz., angels, archangels, virtues, powers, principalities, dominions, thrones, Hiruphim, and Saraphim"]. *Ordines*.—Archangelos et ordines, C.

De puma diabuli in titul .i. de motatione nominis luciferi in dracōnem. ἵνι ἰμορροῖ τοῦ ἀρχαμάντε, ὡς ἐστὶν ἐν ἀποκαλύπτῃ. Ἐκκε draco purphur habent capita .un. ἡ κορμὴ .x. ἡ cauda eius τραχὺς secum tertiam partem siderum vel stellarum.

DRACO magnus deterrimus terribilis et antiquus
qui fuit serpens lubricus sapientior omnibus
bestiis et animantibus terrae peracioribus
terciam partem siderum traxit secum in barathrum
locorum infernalium diuersorumque carcerum
refuga ueri luminis parasito praecipites

GLOSS.—20. *Draco*.—i. diabolus. *Deterrimus*.—i. pessimus, vel teterrimus, i. horribilissimus. 21. *Lubricus*.—i. plemon [slippery]. *Sapientior*.—i. τυαχλιῦ [more subtle, cunning] βῖθ [est] sapientia in bono et in malo, in bono, ut dauid dicit Initium sapientiae etc. [Ps. cx. 10]. in malo, ut christus Perdam sapientiam sapientium huius mundi [1 Cor. i. 15]. 22. *Animantibus*.—i. animalibus. 23. *Tertiam partem*.—i. de omnibus angelis vel de consentientibus. *Siderum*.—i. graduum celestium .i. angelorum. *Barathrum*.—i. in infernum .i. ἰμβαλε chpo [i. e. into the city of death]. 25. *Parasito*.—i. οὐκ παύροισιν .i. uab peim ap paupreor . . . [from a mountebank, i. e. of his own accord he is a mountebank]. *Praecipites*.—i. mna πῖμπαργέτσαβ .i. ἵπερν [i. e. the precipitous places, viz. hell].

9. *Principatum*.—Principatum, B. *Virtutum*.—Virtutum, C. Virtutum, B.

11. *Largitatis*.—Largiatatis, B.

12. *Privigia*.—Privilegia, C. Privilegia, B. The Gloss assumes the reading *Privilegia*, which is necessary to agree with *Celestia*.

13. *Fatimine*.—Fatimini, B. This word does not occur in the dictionaries, nor in Du Cange. It seems to signify *expression, manifestation*, from *fator, for*, to speak; or *fateor*, to manifest. See Reeves, *Adamnan, Glossar. in voc. Famen*, p. 444.

14. *Celi*.—For *Transmigrationes* in the Scholium, C. has *translations*. The word seems to be applied here to the fall of the angels, who are called "the nine orders or degrees of *Prince*," in reference, apparently, to the passages of Scripture in which Satan is called *Prince* (John, xii. 31, xiv. 30, xvi. 11; Eph., ii. 2).

15. *Speciminis*.—Here used to denote honour, glory, ornament, a sense in which the word occurs in Seneca and Apuleius.

17. *Apostata*.—In the margin is this note: "Apostata grece, recessor a fidelibus interpretatur latine; vel lugubrium lignum est super quod etiam aves stare non possunt, ap clemni tucab uabpibe pop cech plemon [from its slipperiness; the name was given from this to everything slippery]." Does this note confound *lugubris* and *lubricus*?

18. *Cenodoxia*.—Interpreted in the Gloss *inanis gloria*, κενὴ δόξα. Isidor. Hisp. uses the word: "Multos autem ex eis [monachis] cenodoxiae morbus commaculat." *De eccl. Officiis*, lib. ii. 16, n. 18. See Du Cange, *Glossar. in voc.* The second etymology, κοινὴ δόξα, is a mistake. The construction is, "And the apostate angels" [ruerunt, fell], "by the same lamentable fall of the author of vain glory, of obstinate hate, the others remaining in their principalities." *Pervicacis*.—The Gloss is from Isidor. Hispal., *Etymol.*, lib. x. 211.

20. *Deterrimus*.—Teterrimus, C. *Antiquus*.—Apoc. xii. 9, xx. 2.

De creatione elementorum mundi ⁊ hominū regentū ea portea mone
in titul. In imorro ind arġamant. In principio fecit deus celum ⁊
terram ut in ġeneri dicitur.

Excelsus mundi machinam preuidens et armoniam
caelum et terram fecerat mare et aquas condidit
herbarum quoque germina uirgultorum arbuscula
solem lunam ac sidera ignem ac necessaria
aves pisces et peccora bestias et animalia 30
hominem demum regere protoplastum praesagmine.

Gloss.—26. *Machinam*.—i. materiam, i. massam. *Armoniam*.—i. in imchubbūp pīlecep na
dule [i. the harmony that is between things created]. 27. *Caelum*.—i. invisibilis omnis creatura.
Terram.—i. omnis creatura visibilis terra vocatur. *Mare*.—i. a maritudine dictum, vel a meando. 28.
Herbarum.—i. christus. 30. *Bestias*.—i. quicquid ore et ungene [read unguine] ēvit. bestia dicitur.
31. *Hominem*.—i. Adam, i. omnia elementa terrena. *Protoplastum*.—i. protos, græce: primus, latine:
plastus, i. formatus, i. in cecchputa [the first created] i. corpus. *Praesagmine*.—i. o plogaiphin-
necht [i. host = leadership].

21. *Lubricus*.—In the margin there is
the following note: "Lubricus a libro,
quod est nomen cui oblenita
scilipes adherere non possunt,
finitatem omnis levis de quo
quis labitur lubricus dicitur, don chpunn
reinbite eoin in a bapp, ⁊ dia cacc
do ġnūcep in tīpūc [from that tree, on
whose top there are usually birds, and from
whose dung silk is made]. The remainder
of this note is very obscure, and the Editor
has not succeeded in reading it: it con-
cludes with the words "in barathro, i. in
inferno." *Lubrum*, in the Glossary of Pa-
pias, is explained "rasile lignum." The
object of the first part of this note is
evidently to derive the word *Lubricus*
from the name of a tree, so slippery that
even flies cannot walk on its branches.—
See the Gloss on this passage in the *Leabhar
Breac*, Addit. Note B.

22. *Feracioribus*.—Ferocioribus, B.

25. *Refuga*.—Over the last syllable of

this word is written .l. x. [xol x], and a
more recent hand has written x on the
line below. *Refugax* is the reading of C.
Refugas, B. *Parasito*.—The Gloss takes
this word to signify a buffoon, or mounte-
bank. Du Cange has shown that *parasitus*
was used to signify a domestic servant,
who lives at his master's table. But it is
not easy to make sense from either of
these significations in the passage before
us. Perhaps we should read *paradiso*.
The gloss over *Præcipites* seems to un-
derstand *locos*. There is evidently cor-
ruption in the text.

26. *Excelsus*.—In the margin is this
note: ". . . . dicit. Oportuit ut terre
celestis creatura prece . . ." Nothing
more is legible. It was evidently a passage
quoted from some ecclesiastical writer,
perhaps Bede; but the editor has not been
able to find it. *Armoniam*.—Ermoniam,
C.

27. *Et terram*.—Terram, C.

Ipe in titul, de laude dei ab angelis in quarta feria dicentes sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus sabaoth. Ipi ino argamant. Quando feci celum ⁊ terram collaudaverunt me angeli, ut in sapientia salomonis dicitur.

Factis simul sideribus etheris luminaribus
collaudaverunt angeli factura præmirabili
immensæ molis dominum opificem celestium
preconio laudabile debito et immobile
concentuque egregio grates egerunt domino
amore et arbitrio non naturæ donario.

35

Gloss.—32. *Etheris*.—i. mo echuup [the ether, or air]. 33. *Collaudaverunt*.—i. me, i. postquam creati sunt angeli dixerunt, sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus sabaoth. 34. *Molis*.—i. non corporalis molis. *Opificem*.—i. ʒnimbenmaib [a work doer], i. opus et faciens. 36. *Concentuque*.—i. on chocecul epergna [with magnificent singing together]. *Grates*.—i. pro gratias, causa ritui. 37. *Amore*.—i. præ. *Arbitrio*.—Arbitrium est proprium conatus animi. *Naturæ*.—i. ni in anciub po chlannad molab de [not in their nature was implanted the praise of God], sed in voluntate et potestate sua, sicut intendit ante ubi dicit amore et arbitrio, ut dicunt, an comcraicir facere malum ma ni bech ʒnað de occa [as they say that they would have been able to do evil if they had not had the love of God].

29. *Ac sidera*.—Ac sydera, C., B. *Et necessaria*.—Et om., B. Ac necessaria, C.

30. *Pecora*.—Pecora, C. *Et animalia*.—Et om., C.

31. *Præsagmine*.—On this word is the following note in the margin: "Præsagmine .i. o pemchapchetul .i. ʒpirtu no o ploʒapchinnecht .i. o apchin agminis hominum. Præsagmen enim a præ-sule et agmen componitur. Agmen Dei ploʒapchinnecht. co po bai do Adam ut dicit creavit. Adam uero non fuit." Here some words are illegible; but what remains may be thus rendered: "Præsagmine, i. e. prophecy," [from *præsagire*, or *præsagare*], "i. e. of Christ, or host=leadership, i. e. the beginning of the host of mankind" [Adam being, as it were, the leader or chieftain of the human race]. "Præsagmen is compounded of *præsul* and *agmen*." The remaining words relating to Adam

are unintelligible, but may, perhaps, receive some light from the Gloss in the *Leabhar Breac*, where we read that God gave all things to Adam: "Adam vero nominibus ea nominavit." This, therefore, is the *præsagmen*, by which man bore rule over the inferior animals, whether we take that word to signify *prophecy* (exercised in Adam's naming all beasts), or to denote *superiority*, *power*, or *pre-eminence*, according to the second etymology given of it. See Addit. Note B.

32. *Factis*.—The Scholium prefixed to this stanza is thus translated:—"This is the Title, *De laude Dei ab angelis in quarta feria, dicentes* [dicentibus, C.] *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth*. This is the Argument, *Quando feci celum et terram, collaudaverunt me angeli, ut in sapientia Salomonis dicitur*." We have here the ancient opinion that the

De peccato abas ꝛ be recumbā puma diabuli in reductione abas in
cūcul. ꝛꝛ mo angumant. Malebictur enī ꝛꝛꝛꝛ ꝛꝛꝛꝛ ꝛꝛꝛꝛ ꝛꝛꝛꝛ ꝛꝛꝛꝛ
omnibꝛ diebꝛ uitae, ut in ꝛꝛꝛꝛ dicitur.

Grassatis primis duobus seductisque parentibus
secundo ruit Zabulus cum suis satilitibus
quorum horrore uultuum sonoque uolitantium
consternarentur homines metu territi fragiles
non ualentes carnalibus hæc intueri uisibus
qui nunc ligantur fascibus ergastolorum nexibus.

40

Gloss.—38. *Grassatis*.—i. a diabulo. *Seductisque*.—i. ab hora conditionis. *Parentibus*.—i. Adam et Eva. 39. *Secundo*.—i. primo de celo ad terram; secundo ad infernum. *Zabulus*.—i. diabolus. *Cum suis*.—i. cum malis suis factoribus. *Satilitibus*.—Satilis a satis uilis. 40. *Quorum*.—i. demoniorum. *Volitantium*.—Vel demonum, vel ferarum. 41. *Consternarentur*.—i. no παύσις [they would have hidden themselves]. *Fragiles*.—i. fragilis dicitur eo quod facile frangi potest. 42. *Hæc intueri*.—i. agmina diabolica uolitantia. 43. *Qui*.—i. satiles. *Ergastolorum*.—i. na πιασκαρεα no ἡνα ἡγυκαρεα [i. e. the penal dungeons, or the wounding dungeons] ergastulum enim opus ex longum in tempus.

stars, created on the fourth day (Gen. i. 14-19), were the angels. This opinion is founded on Job, xxxviii. 7, which is probably the passage intended by our Scholiast, for nothing of the sort occurs in the Wisdom of Solomon. St. Gregory the Great, in his commentary on the passage, says: "Quia enim prima in tempore condita natura rationabilium spirituum creditur non immerito matutina astra angeli vocantur."—*Moral.*, lib. xxviii. c. 14. The Ante-Hieronymian version of Job, xxxviii. 7, as given by Sabatier, from the MS. Majoris Monast., is as follows:—"Quando facta sunt simul sidera, laudauerunt me voce magna omnes angeli mei" (which is a literal translation of the Septuagint). It will be observed that this older version, and not the present Vulgate, has been quoted by our Scholiast.

35. *Laudabile*.—Laudabili, C. *Immobile*.—Immobili, C.

38. *Grassatis*.—*Grassare* is to torment,

to assault. See p. 156, line 38, where we have, "impiis verbis grassatur." "He [Christ] is assailed with impious words."

39. *Secundo*.—The Gloss explains that the first fall of the Devil was from heaven to earth (see lines 20, sq.); the second (after the fall of Adam) from earth to hell. The common opinion of divines is that the first fall of Satan took place before the creation of man, and immediately after his own creation: an inference which some deduce from the text, "Ab initio mendax fuit." Jo. viii. 44. See Isidor. Hispal. *Sententiar.* i. x. 7. *Zabulus*, for diabolus, as the Gloss explains; from which we may infer that when this MS. was transcribed, the orthography *z* for *di* was becoming obscure. *Satilitibus*.—Satellitibus, C.

41. *Consternarentur*.—Consternerentur, C., an error probably of the press. The Gloss intimates that the consternation is increased by the demons being usually invisible.

De electione diabuli ex unitate angelorum in titul. Ἰν ἰμωρητο ἰνδ
αργαμαντ quod dicitur in generi Malebictæ perpenr. Et in euangelio
dicitur Uabē pectro patanar ἡ non tempebatir dominum deum tuum ἡ ἰλλi
pohi pepuer.

Hic sublatus e medio delectus est a domino
cuius aeris spatium constipatur satellitum
globo invisibilium turbido perduellium
ne malis exemplaribus imbuti ac sceleribus
nullis unquam tegetibus septis ac parietibus
pornicarentur homines palam omnium oculis

45

Gloss.—44. *Hic*.—i. diabolus. *Sublatus*.—i. a præsencia dei, vel ex unitate fratrum. *Delectus*.
.i. ποταρπαβ [i. is cast down]. 45. *Constipatur*.—i. ἡνταρ [is filled, crowded]. *Satellitum*.—i.
ναναμυρ [i. the mercenary attendants]. 46. *Perduellium*.—i. ἡνναν δεβαχάχ [of the two battling
ones], i. inter se inimicem semper, no cāch [or battle] contra deum et homines. i. quasi duobus bellis
bellatorum quia duellis bellum . . . hostes duellum, i. ἡννιτῖο [enmity] perduellis inimicus. 47.
Malis.—i. demonum. *Exemplaribus*.—i. ὡνα ἐνγναρῖβ [by their examples]. *Imbuti*.—i. homines.
48. *Septis*.—i. sepes lignorum dicitur, paries autem lapidum. 49. *Fornicarentur*.—i. perdirentur, vel
peccarent, pro omni peccato fornicatio ponitur.

43. *Ligantur*.—Ligatur, C. This read-
ing agrees better with the Gloss over *qui*,
which seems to take *qui* as singular; but
ligantur is evidently the true reading, and
is the reading also of B. *Fascibus*.—
Faucibus, C. *Ergastolorum*.—'Εργαστή-
ριον, a prison where the convicts are
compelled to labour. "Carcer, vel locus
ubi damnati marmora secant."—*Isidori*
Gloss. Or the fetters with which prison-
ers are secured.—*Du Cange*, in voc.

44. *Hic*.—There is a mark like this, :—,
over this word, and a similar mark under
the word "zabulus" in ver. 39, which
seem intended to show that *hic* refers to
zabulus. Hence the Gloss "i. diabolus"
is written under *Hic*, not over it, to avoid
interfering with the grammatical mark.
Deiectus.—Diectus, B.

45. *Cujus*.—Alluding, probably, to the
Apostle's saying, Eph. ii. 2, "Princeps
potestatis aeris hujus;" the meaning will

then be, "the space of *his* air [i. e. the
Devil's air] is filled by a crowd of satel-
lites." Or perhaps the construction is
"cujus satellitum;"—"by the crowd of
whose [i. e. the devil's] satellites the air
is filled or choked up." *Satellitum*.—
Satellitum, C.

46. *Perduellium*.—The construction
seems to be "Globo turbido satellitum
invisibilium perduellium." The Gloss
derives *duellum* from *duo* and *bellum*;
but Isidore of Seville, on the contrary,
derives *bellum* from *duellum*: "postea"
(he says) "detracta, et mutata litera"
[i. e. detracta litera *d*, et mutata *u* in *o*]
"dictum est bellum."—*Etymolog.*, lib.
xviii. c. 1, n. 9.

47. *Ne malis*.—This seems to be given
as the reason why the devils are invisible,
lest, if their wickedness were visible, men
should imitate them, in open shameless-
ness. *Imbuti*.—C. omits this word, pro-

De eo quod uehunt nubes aquar ab celum. Ir pe in titul. ISr mō-
arḡamant, ut dauib dicit, Ebucenr nuber ab exremo cerpae. 7 alibi
dicit. qui pprodueit uentor de ceraurir pui.

INuehunt nubes pontias ex pontibus brumalias 50
tribus profundioribus occiani dodrantibus
maris celi climatibus ceruleis turbinibus
profuturas segitibus uinis et germinibus
agitatæ flaminibus tesaurois emergentibus
quique paludes marinas euacuant reciprocas. 55

Gloss.—50. *Inuehunt*.—i. conocab no imarchuric [they raise or carry]. *Pontias*.—i. inna
lipu [the seas]. *Brumalias*.—i. brunia, a brevi motu solis in eo, ir aipe . . . mam pech . . .
apimmub urce bruma edax, vel edacitas interpretatur. 52. *Climatibus*.—i. o apbaib [from
high places]. *Turbinibus*.—i. o na connaib dubglarraib no o na hachchaib dubglar-
raib [from the dark-green waves, or from the dark-green fields]. 53. *Profuturas*.—i. inna hi
capmnigic [those over which they will pass]. *Segitibus*.—i. bonis hominibus. *Viniis*.—i. iustia.
Germinibus.—i. vilibus hominibus. 54. *Flaminibus*.—i. ventis. *Emergentibus*.—i. exaltantibus.
55. *Quique*.—i. venti. *Paludes*.—i. profundiores fontes vel tesauri, .i. ad falles [folles] uentorum qui
sunt in tesaurois. *Reciprocas*.—i. nahab . . . : [the causes?].

bably by an error of the press, for the omission would be a violation both of the metre and sense.

50. *Pontias*.—The Gloss explains this word as if it signified *seas*, from *pontus*; but it is not found in any of the printed Glossaries of mediæval Latinity. *Brumalias*.—*Brumalibus*, C. Under this word, and also under *pontias*, are two dots, showing the opinion of the Scholiast that they are to be construed together. The Gloss on this word is in some places illegible; it gives the usual etymologies of *Bruma*, viz. *quasi brevissima dies*; or from the Greek βρῦμα, "*edacitas*," because in winter animals eat most.—Isid. Hispal., *Etymol.* v. xxxv. 6. The Irish words in the Gloss, so far as they are legible, seem to indicate another derivation, probably that of *Hiems*, ap immub urce, "from abundance of water." Isid. Hispal., in his Glossary,

gives the word *Brumalia*, which he explains "*resinosa pluvia*," i. e. fetid rain. See also Du Cange, in v. *Bromosus*. The adjective *Brumalius* is of unusual occurrence, and was unknown to Du Cange.

51. *Occiani*.—*Oceani*, C. *Dodrantibus*.—In this line there are dots under *tribus*, *profundioribus*, and *dodrantibus*, showing that they are grammatically connected. *Dodrans* is explained by Du Cange, from Papias, "tres quælibet partes, quarta remota," which is the sense in which the word is used in classical Latin; but it is not easy to see how it can have that signification here: "the three deeper three-fourths of the ocean" is a strange expression. In the margin there is a note which is almost wholly illegible, and has been partly cut off by the plough of the modern binder; it appears to be intended chiefly to explain *dodrans*.

De intolerabile pena peccatorum in inferno in titul. 171 mbarga-
manc quod iob dicit Ecce gigantes gemunt sub aquis.

Raduca ac tirannica mundiue momentania
regum presenti gloria nutu dei depossita
ecce gigantes gemere sub aquis magno ulcere
comprobantur incendio aduri ac suplicio
cocitique carubibus strangulati turgentibus 60
scillis obteeti fluctibus eliduntur et scorporibus.

Gloss.—56. *Momentania*.—i. in momentum temporis. 58. *Gigantes*.—i. potentes in inferno. *Sub aquis*.—i. sub unda penarum, i. poena intolerabili. 59. *Comprobantur*.—i. in scriptura. *Aduri*.—i. coloripiter [to be burned]. 60. *Cocitique*.—i. lechi ippirri [instead of hell]. *Carubibus*.—i. o na pæbchoprib [ona?] no mapbad, an met a anpaib mæpæbchope mæmlaigter do pæbchoprib cociti 7 ip chapcaib do for ippirrib [i. it is by the whirlpools they are killed: because of the greatness of the storm of the whirlpool, that are compared to the whirlpools of Cocitus; and it leads to hell]. *Strangulati*.—i. retenti. 61. *Fluctibus*.—i. o na connaib pillecraib, .i. o chonnaib in tæpæbchope biamb ainn pella, et in Sicilia est, 7 anmeit ona a anpaib beop [i. from the waves of Scilla, .i. from the waves of the whirlpool whose name is Scilla, and is in Sicily, and in consequence of the greatness of its swelling likewise].

54. *Flaminibus*.—Over this word, and also over *emergentibus*, are two vertically placed dots (:), showing that these words were to be construed together. The existence of dots and marks, to show the grammatical connexion of the words, is a remarkable proof that in the age when the *Book of Hymns* was transcribed, the Latin text of such hymns as that now before us was beginning to be obscure.

56. *Tirannica*.—Tyrannica, C. *Momentania*.—Momentanea, C.

57. *Depossita*.—Deposita, C.

58. *Gigantes*.—Job, xxvi. 5.

59. *Aduri*.—Adusti, C. *Supplicio*.—Supplicio, C.

60. *Cocitique*.—Quotidieque, C. This is a manifest mistake of transcription. *Carubibus*.—Charydibus, C., an error of the press for *Charybdibus*. *Turgentibus*.—Gurgitibus, C. In the margin of the MS. there is the following note:—"Cocitus .i.

nomen quarti fluminis in inferno. [Quatuor] flumina infernus tenet, id est, Cocitus, absque gaudio interpretatur. Strix" [*leg. Styx*] "[tris]titia interpretatur. Flegiton [Flegethon] flammeus interpretatur; et Achiron. Vel .iiii. nomina unius fluminis. Carubibus turgentibus.—i. o na caprib cruachdaib, no gapraib no bpuachachaib no o na pæbchoprib bopp-pabaigir" [i. from the mountainous, or rough or boiling rocks, or from the swelling whirlpools]. "Strangulati.—i. retenti, .i. tettaib be pellaib" [held by the rocks]. "1 pe pcel popatchmentap hic [this is the story that is commemorated here]. Scilla filia Porci" [Phoreys] "adamaata est a Glaucio Deo maris, quod displicuit Circe filie solis. Sciens autem Circe fontem ad quem Scilla quotidie veniebat venificia fecit. Postquam venit Scilla ad illum ut lauaret manus fontem, conuersa est statim in beluam marinam et noluit

In titul. De moberatione pluuiæ uenientis ex ligatis aquis nubibus ne pariter fluant. ἵνι ἰμορροῖ ἰνδ ἀρῆγᾶμαιντ. quod ἰοβ διειτ. qui surpēndit aquar in nubibus, ne pariter fluant deorsum.

Ligatas aquas nubibus frequenter crebrat dominus
ut ne erumpant protinus simul ruptis obicibus
quarum uberioribus uenis uelut uberibus
pedetentim natantibus telli pertractus istius 65
telluris ac peruentibus diuersis in temporibus
usquam influunt plumina nunquam deficientia,

Gloss.—62. *Crebrat*.—i. ριχλαῖδ [drops, filters]. 63. *Simul ruptis*.—i. ἀνατὰρρητοι καὶ πρὶτεκοῖρη, no ἀνατὰ παλινῆγχε καὶ πρὶτεκοῖρη [the barriers are broken, or the barriers are made manifest] .i. ruptis ligationibus quibus quodammodo nubibus aqua. 64. *Quarum*.—i. imbrium. *Uberioribus*.—i. pro uberibus hic causa rithmi. 65. *Pedetentim*.—i. paulatim, .i. *Natantibus*.—i. aquis. *Telli*.—Tellus telli, secundæ declinationis, ut Augustinus dicit et masculini generis, et potest dici tellus et feminini generis, hic et hæc tellus telluris. *Pertractus*.—i. ἑρῶ ριχῆρ. 66. *Cellidia*.—i. hiems et ver. *Feruentibus*.—i. æstas et autumnus. 67. *Usquam*.—i. ubique. *Influunt*.—i. τοῖρρῖννιτ [they well, i. e. burst up as from a well]. *Deficientia*.—eoque ex ea tolluntur.

ad homines uenire propter formam suam, proiecit se in mare. Uidens mater Carubdis filiam suam Scillam in mare nantem, exiit in mare ut teneret eam, sed non potuit, et frequenter [ven]tis affligebant, ut ferunt fabulæ, uidens Neptunus quod in mare mittit tridentem in mare et statuit eas in scopulos et fixit Scillam in Sicilia et Carubdim in Italia cominus et uix nautæ nauigare possunt inter eas sine periculo."

62. *Crebrat*.—*Crebrare*, or *Crībrare*, is to sift; to drop through a chink or fissure. Hence it is explained in the Gloss, ριχλαῖδ, he drops, filters. The word is also written *cribare*, and *creuare*. French, *crover*. See Du Cange, v. *Creuare*.

63. *Obicibus*.—Obicibus, C.

65. *Pedetentim*.—*Pedetentim*, C. *Telli*.—Terræ, C. The Gloss proves that *telli* was the ancient reading; for it quotes Augustine to show that *tellus*, *telli*, of the

second declension, was masculine; *tellus*, *telluris*, of the third declension, feminine. The Editor has not found anything of this kind in the works of St. Augustine, nor in the spurious work *De Grammatica*, attributed to him, and printed in the Appendix to the Benedictine edition of his writings. It is true that Augustine has a remark on the male and female power of the earth, *De Ciu. Dei*, vii. 23, which may perhaps be what our Scholiast alludes to; but he says nothing about a masculine *tellus*, having its genitive *telli*. Speaking of Varro, who made *Tellus* a goddess, and *Tellumon* a god. He says (*loc. cit.*): "Adhuc respondeatur, quam partem terræ permeet pars mundani animi, ut deum faciat Tellumonem. Non, inquit, sed una eademque terra habet geminam vim, et masculinam, quod semina producat; et femininam, quod recipiat atque enutriet: inde a vi feminina dictam esse *Tellurem*,

De pundamento terræ ⁊ de abisso ire in circulo. ipi autem inb arꝑamane
quod iob dicit qui puppendit terram [ruper nihilum]. Et alibi dicit
Illi ipi mundi uirtute Dei continetur. ⁊ in psalmo qui pundat terram
ruper stabilitatem suam.

MAGNI DEI VIRTUTIBUS APPENDITUR DIABUS
globus terræ et circulus abyssus magnæ inditus
suppulta dei iduma omnipotentis ualida
columnis uelut uectibus eundem sustentantibus
promontoriis et rupibus solis[is] fundaminiibus
uelut quibusdam bassibus firmatis immobilibus.

70

Gloss.—68. *Appenditur*.—ΑΡΤΑΙΤΙΡ [kept up, sustained]. *Diaibus*.—i. diuina. *Dius* secundum
veteres no combat choip ann [or that which ought to be in it] 69. *Circulus*.
—i. inb abisso mōp in po in clannab bligeb circuil [the great abyss, in which was implanted the
law of a circle]. *Iduma*.—i. manu, iduma ebraice, cirus grece, manus, latine. *Valida*.—i. forte. 72.
Promontoriis.—i. o paib.

a masculina *Telumonem*." *Pertractus*.—
Per tractus, C. *Istius*.—There is a gloss
under this word which is now ille-
gible; it may possibly belong to *tem-
poribus*, the last word of the next
line.

70. *Iduma*.—The Gloss tells us that
this is a Hebrew word, signifying the
hand, and identical with the Greek *ciros*,
i. e. *χείρ*, and the Latin *manus*. It is
evidently from ט, a *hand*, and seems like
a corruption of the dual טיד, as *ciros*
seems taken from the genitive *χείρως*, or
perhaps also from the plural *χέρες*. The
remarkable word *Iduma* is not found in
Du Cange, or in any of the Glossaries of
medieval Latin to which the Editor has
access; and this passage seems to be the
only instance of its use as a Latin word,
in the sense of *power, might, authority*.
It would have been wholly unintelligible
but for the gloss.

71. *Eundem*.—Over this word there is

the following curious grammatical note:
“ . . . vel : ” the first of these marks (—).
occurs under the word “globus,” and the
second (:) under the word “circulus,” in
line 69: the meaning therefore is, that
eundem signifies either “eundem globum”
or “eundem circulum.” In like manner
the mark (..) occurs under *iduma*, and
also under *valida*, in line 70; showing
that *valida* is to be construed as agreeing
with *iduma*.

72. *Promontoriis*.—The Gloss upon this
word is not legible, with the exception
of the letters which have been above
given; the meaning is, therefore, obscure.
Perhaps the hiatus may be supplied by
reading, o [na por]paib, the Irish trans-
lation of *promontoriis*. *Solidis*.—The text
in the MS. has *solis*; but a coeval hand
has written *solidis* in the margin, which
is necessary both for the sense and the
metre. The letters OI have therefore
been added, within brackets, in the text.

De inferno in imis porico in corde terræ ⁊ penit eor ⁊ loco. ipe in titul. Ipi indargamaint, Epurici animam meam ex inferno [inferiorum. ut in euangeli]o dicitur Sepultur epe dicit in inferno. ⁊ alibi Ite male-dicti in aeternum ignem. ⁊ alibi Uerum eorum non moritur ⁊ igni eor non exstinguitur].

NULLI uidetur dubium in imis esse infernum
ubi habentur tenebrae uermes ac dirae bestiae
ubi ignis solphorius ardens flammis edacibus
ubi rugitus hominum pletus ac stridor dentium
ubi gehennae gemitus terribilis et antiquus
ubi ardor flammaticus sitis famisque horribus

75

* * * * *

De laude dei ab angelis in titul. Ipi in inferno ind argamaint, acberan in Apocalippi,—In circulo troni ubi reber .xxiiii. peniones rebentes in uerte alba ⁊ capitebur eorum corona aurea ubi.

SENIORUM canticibus seculo tinnientibus
tropodis sanctis milibus angelorum uernantibus
quatuorque plenissimis animalibus oculis
cum uiginti pelicibus quatuor senioribus
coronas admittentibus agni dei sub pebibus
laudatur tribus uicibus trinitas eternalibus.

130

Glossa.—74. *In imis*.—i. in profundis terræ. *Infernum*.—Infernus dicitur quia infra sit. Sicut in medio animalis cor, ita infernus in medio terræ est. 75. *Tenebras*.—i. tenebræ dictæ sunt quia tenent umbras. 129. *Tinnientibus*.—i. ambinniget na cantana [i. they harmonize the songs]. 130. *Vernantibus*.—i. immenioniget uile [which they all used to practise (?) often]. 131. *Animalibus*.—i. euangelistis. 132. *Viginti*.—i. cum .xii. patriarchis et xii. profetis, vel cum .xii. apostolis, vel figura .iiii. euangelistarum cum .xxiiii. libris veteris legis.

74. *Dubium*.—In the margin there is this note: "Dubium quasi duvium, incertus duarum viarum." And so Isid. Hisp., "*Dubius*, incertus, quasi *duarum viarum*."—*Etymol.*, x. 77. *Infernum*.—The Gloss is from Isid. Hisp. *Etymol.*, l. xiv. c. 9: "Inferus appellatur eo quod infra sit," and, "Quomodo autem cor animalis in medio est, ita et infernus in medio terræ esse perhibetur." These words occur also in St. Jerome's *Comm. on Jon.*, i. 4.

76. *Solphorius*.—Sulphureus, C.

79. *Famisque*.—In the Irish orthography of *i* for *e*, *famisque* stands for *famesque*, "and hunger." C. reads *sitis fumusque*, a manifest mistake. A leaf of the Dublin copy of the *Liber Hymnorum* is lost after this line. It contained the stanzas O to X, inclusive, which will be found (taken from Colgan's copy of this Hymn) in the Additional Note D. It is greatly to be regretted that the MS. of the *Liber*

De uratione impiorum nolentes christum credere. ⁊ de gaudio iustorum in tituli. Ir ꝑi imorro ind argamant quod dicitur in apocalippi lip ignis consumet aduersarios. ⁊ alibi dicit apocalip Mansiones multae sunt apud patrem, ⁊ christus dicit, In domu patris mei multae mansiones sunt.

Zelus ignis furibundus consumet aduersarios 135
 nolentes christum credere deo a patre uenisse
 nos uero euolabimus obuiam ei protinus
 et sic cum ipso erimus in diuersis ordinibus
 dignitatum pro meritis premiorum perpetuis
 permansuri in gloria a seculis in gloria. 140

Gloss.—135. *Consumet*.—i. vindicta a deo patre. *Aduersarios*.—i. veriti dei. 137. *Nos*.—i. genus humanum. *Ecolabimus*.—i. in die iudicii. *Obuiam*.—i. ma. *Protinus*.—i. in ictu oculi. 138. *Cum ipso*.—i. erunt sancti cum Christo post mortem. *In diuersis*.—i. ut dicitur redd[ere unicuique] secundum opus suum. 140. *Gloria*.—i. in regno. *A seculis*. i. presentibus. *In gloria*.—i. infinita.

Hymnorum now preserved at the College of St. Isidore at Rome is wholly inaccessible to the Editor, as it would have doubtless supplied defects of this kind, and probably cleared up many obscurities, especially as Colgan has printed the hymn with several inaccuracies, and with an entire disregard of the Irish peculiarities of spelling.

130. *Tropodis*.—Tripodiis, C. *Vernantibus*.—*Vernare* is sometimes used in the sense of *canere*, to sing. See Du Cange, *Glossar.* in v. Perhaps this may be its signification here. The Irish gloss is obscure.

133. *Admittentibus*.—For *mittentibus*, evidently for the sake of the metre.—Apoc., iv. 10.

134. *Tribus vicibus*.—Alluding to the triple *Sanctus*.—Apoc., iv. 8.

135. *Zelus*.—The Scholium is as follows:—"De uratione [vastatione, C.] *impiorum nolentes* [nolentium, C.] *Christum credere*, et de gaudio *iustorum*, is the Title.

But this is the Argument: quod dicitur in Apocalipsi, *lis ignis consumet aduersarios*, et alibi dicit apostolus, *Mansiones multae sunt apud Patrem*, et Christus dicit, *In domu Patris mei multae mansiones sunt*." The passage here quoted from the Apocalypae really occurs Hebr. x. 27, the scribe having apparently mistaken *Apostolus* for *Apocalypsis*. A part of the first word is illegible; it is probably *terribilis*, from the first clause of the verse. Colgan gives it thus:—"Argum. ut in Apocal. *Tribus ignibus consumet aduersarios*." But no such words occur in the Apoc. The first line of this stanza evidently contains an ancient reading: "*Zelus ignis consumet aduersarios*," which seems more immediately taken from the Greek (πυρὸς ζῆλος) than "*ignis æmulationis*," which is the reading of the modern Vulgate, as well as of the Ante-Hieronymian version, as printed by Sabatier. The second passage quoted, *Mansiones multae sunt apud Patrem*, does not occur in any

Quis potest deo placere nouissimo in tempore
 Variatū inuigilū uepitatū orōnū
 Exceptū contemptorū mundi p̄p̄entū īp̄tū.

Deum patrem ingenitum celi ac terræ dominum
 Ab eodemque filium pecula ante primogenitum
 Deumque p̄p̄itum p̄anctum uep̄um unum altissimum
 Inuoco ut auxilium mihi oportunitissimum
 Minimo p̄p̄et omnium p̄bi deperuientium
 Quem angelorum milibū conpociabit dominū.

of the Apostolical Epistles, and is probably only a repetition of the verse quoted immediately after from St. John, xiv. 3: "*In domu Patris mei multe mansiones sunt.*"

138. *Cum ipso.*—The allusion is to 1 Thess. iv. 17.

140. *A seculis in gloria.*—A *seculis* in *secula*, C., which reading seems more probable; the repetition of "in gloria" being a manifest blunder of transcription.

Quis potest.—The two following stanzas are in the smaller and more angular character, which has already been several times noticed. C. omits *Deo*. The Pre-

face tells us that this triplet is to be sung between each "Capitulum" of the Hymn. See p. 223.

Novissimo.—Over this word there is the gloss, ".i. in fine mundi," with some other words now illegible.

Primogenitum.—A gloss over this word is "vel progenitum;" but this, as well as the reading of the text, is inconsistent with the metre. C. reads *genitum*.

Angelorum.—There is a gloss over this word which is almost illegible. All that can be read with any certainty is as follows:—".i. is angeli in celo."

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE A.

The Preface to the Hymn.

THE following is a literal translation of the Preface, which, as usual, is in a mixture of Latin and Irish:—

The Place^a of this Hymn was Hí^b. The Time^c was that of Aedán son of Gabran, King of Alba, and of Aed son of Ainmire, King of Erin. But Mauritius or Focas was then King of the Romans. The Person^d was Columcille of the noble race of the Scots. He is called Columba, from the text *Estote prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut Columba*. The Cause^e was because he was desirous of praising God. For seven years he was searching out this Hymn in the Black Cell^f without light, i. e. beseeching forgiveness for the battle of Cuil Dremne which he had gained^g over Diarmait son of Cerball^h, and the other battles that were gained on his account. *Vel ut alii dicunt*, it was composed extemporaneously; viz.—On a certain day Columcille was in Hí, and no one was with him except Boithin, and they had no food except a sieve full of oats. Then said Columcille to Boithin, “Illustrious guests are coming to us to-day,

^a *The Place*.—i. e. where it was composed.

^b *Hí*.—Now called Iona: a curious mistake, as Dr. Reeves has shown, for *Iona* (the adjective formed from Hí, or I, its ancient name), properly *Insula Iona*: Reeves’ *Adamnan*, Add. Note D, p. 258.

^c *The Time*.—Our author fixes the date by the reigns of the king of Scotland, Aedan, son of Gabran (A. D. 574–606; O’Flaherty, *Ogyg.* p. 473); the king of Ireland, Aed, son of Ainmire (A. D. 572–599; *ibid.* p. 431); and the Roman emperors, Maurice (A. D. 582–601) and Phocas (A. D. 602 *sq.*). On the chronology of these last the Scho-liast speaks doubtingly: “Mauritius or Focas.” St. Columbkille died A. D. 597, before Phocas came to the throne.

^d *Person*.—i. e. the author of the Hymn. See the genealogy of St. Columba, Reeves’ *Adamnan*, p. 342 (Geneal. Table).

^e *Cause*.—i. e. the occasion on which he composed the Hymn.

^f *Black Cell*.—In *Nigra Cellula*, called in Irish *Duibh-regles*. This was a name of St. Columba’s church in Derry in Ireland, Reeves, *ib.* p. 277, *Ord. Mem. of Templemore*, p. 241, and the Preface to this Hymn in the *Leabhar Breacc* has so interpreted it. See p. 223.

^g *Gained*.—Lit. “broken.” For an account of the battle of Cuil-Dreimne, see Reeves, *ib.* p. 247 *sq.*

^h *Diarmait son of Cerball*.—King of Ireland, A. D. 544–565. See Reeves, *ibid.* pp. 67, 68, notes.

O Boithin" (namely, the people of Gregory¹, who came with presents to him), and he said to Boithin, "Remain thou here ministering to the guests, whilst I go to the mill." He took upon him his burden from off a certain stone that was in the Recles², Blathnat³ was its name, and it exists still; and it is upon it that division is made in the refectory⁴. However his burden was heavy to him, so that he made this Hymn in alphabetical order, from that place until he arrived at the mill, i. e. *Adjutor laborantium*⁵, etc., and when he cast the first charge⁶ into the mill, it was then he began the first chapter; and it was at the same time that the grinding of the sack and the composition of the Hymn were finished. And it was extemporaneously it was made thus. In the year five hundred and sixty-five after the birth of Christ, Columbcille came to Hi, as Bede⁷ says: "In the year of our Lord's Incarnation, 565, at which time Justinus minor, after Justinian, received the government of the Roman Empire, there came to Britain, from Ireland, a presbyter and abbot, illustrious by the habit and life of a monk, by name Columbus, to preach the word of God to the provinces of the northern Picts⁸". Now Brudi, son of Melcho, was then king of the Picts, and he it was that granted⁹ Hi to Columbus, where Columbus was buried, after he had been there seventy-six years, and thirty-three after he had gone to Britain to preach.

Now this Hymn was brought to Gregory to the East, in return for the gifts which were brought from him, viz., the Cross¹⁰, i. e. the Mórgeinn¹¹ [great gem] was its name; and the Hymns of the Week¹². But they interchanged¹³ the Hymns. Three chapters were put into it, which Gregory made¹⁴, viz., *Hic sublatu*s, and

¹ Gregory.—Meaning Gregory I., who became Pope A. D. 590. See Reeves, *ibid.* pp. 319, 323.

² The Recles.—The abbey church of Hi: Reeves, *ib.* p. 276.

³ Blathnat.—The Preface to this Hymn in the Leabhar Breacc (see p. 223) calls this stone *Moeblatha*. Reeves, *ib.* p. 330.

⁴ Refectory.—*Ῥροικτις*, Dinner house: *Domus prandii*.

⁵ *Adjutor laborantium*.—This seems to imply that St. Columba on this occasion, whilst carrying his burden to the mill, composed a hymn beginning *Adjutor laborantium* (which does not appear to be now extant); and that the hymn *Altus prosator* was composed during the grinding of the corn. Or are we to understand that the *Altus* was called *Adjutor laborantium*?

⁶ Charge.—*Ῥοτα*. A living word to this day in Munster, to denote the feed or handful given from time to time to a hand-mill.

⁷ Bede.—*Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. c. 4.

⁸ Columbus.—By this form of the name he is frequently called in Scotland to this day. And it is the correct Latinization of the old Irish Colommb gen. Columb (Lib. Ardmach.), a masc. *a*-stem.

⁹ Picts.—Here the extract from Bede ends; but

the remainder of the passage quoted in the Preface, and which is in Latin, is abridged from Bede, although not in his exact words.

¹⁰ Granted.—"Immolavit." See Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 435.

¹¹ The Cross.—See O'Donnell, *Vit. S. Columb.* lib. ii. c. 20 (Colg., *Triad. Thaum.* p. 412). It would seem that this was an altar cross, decorated with gems, &c. It seems to have been preserved in O'Donnell's time (1532) in Tory Island, but is not now known to exist.—Reeves, *ibid.* p. 319.

¹² Mórgeinn.—See Reeves, *ibid.* pp. 318, 319.

¹³ Hymns of the Week.—i. e. a book containing hymns for every day of the week.—Reeves, *ibid.* Could this have been a copy of the celebrated *Antiphonary* of St. Gregory, still known by his name? See the Preface to this Hymn in the Leabhar Breacc, p. 223, *infra*.

¹⁴ They interchanged.—I. e. the messengers who brought the Hymn to Pope Gregory substituted stanzas of Gregory's composition instead of the original stanzas of the Hymn. The Preface in the *Leabhar Breacc*, and that given by Colgan, represent this as having been done to test the miraculous powers of St. Gregory. The story, as given in the text, is not so intelligible, and there has probably

Orbem, and *Vagatur*. Now when they began reading the Hymn to Gregory, the Angels of God came, and they stood until that chapter was come to; Gregory also stood at that part until that time. But when that was passed, the angels sat down; then Gregory sat down, and so the Hymn was finished in that manner. Gregory then demanded from them^a their confession, for he knew that it was they who had interchanged [the hymns]. And they acknowledged that it was they, and they were forgiven for it. And they said^b that there was no fault in the Hymn except the scanty praise of the Trinity which it contained *per se*; although He [the Trinity] was praised in His creatures. And this criticism reached Columcille, and that was the cause of his composing [the Hymn] *In Te Christo*.

It is in alphabetical order, after the manner of the Hebrews^c. It is out of the Catholic Faith the foundation of this chapter^d was taken, i. e. belief in Unity, with confession of Trinity. And it was made in rhythm; and there are two varieties^e of that, viz., *Artificialis* and *vulgaris*. "*Artificialis*," where there are feet of equal time and equal division, with an equality in *arsis* and *thesis*^f, and so that the subsequent comes into the place of the preceding in the resolution. "*Vulgaris*," where there is a correspondence in syllables, and in every verse and half verse^g, and it is that which is here.

Now there are six lines in each chapter, and sixteen syllables in each line, except that in the first chapter there are seven lines, because in it is the Praise of God; for that odd number is suitable compared with the other chapters, because of the inequality of His creatures^h; but the number six is in the creatures, because they were made in six days. There ought to be a Title and an Argument before every chapter.

been some error of transcription. See O'Donnell, *loc. cit.* c. 21.

^a *Gregory made*.—The other account (see Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* p. 473, and the Preface in the *Leabhar Breacc*, p. 224) states that the messengers omitted three chapters of St. Columba's hymn, and substituted three of their own composition.

^b *Reading*.—Literally of *shewing*; i. e. submitting the hymn to him for his approval; *carpentā*, gen. sing. of *carpenab*.

^c *In that manner*.—The meaning is explained by other versions of this Preface. So long as the messengers read the genuine composition of St. Columba, the Angels and the Pope remained *standing*, the posture of reverence; when the readers came to the spurious stanzas, the Angels sat down, and the Pope also sat. In Colgan's version of the story, the Angels are represented as being visible to Gregory during the recitation of the genuine parts of the hymn only, and the Pope stood in reverence to them. But when they vanished at the repetition of the spurious stanzas, the Pope sat down. The Angels of course were visible to Gregory alone. "In this manner" the hymn was finished; the Pope standing during the portions of it that were really

written by Columba, and sitting down when the substituted stanzas were recited.

^a *From them*.—i. e. from the messengers.

^b *They said*.—Colgan's version and the Preface in the *Leabhar Breacc* represent this as having been said by Gregory, as his judgment upon the Hymn. But O'Donnell omits the circumstance altogether.

^c *Of the Hebrews*.—i. e. after the manner of the alphabetical Psalms of the Hebrew Bible.

^d *This chapter*.—i. e. of the first chapter of the Hymn.

^e *Two varieties*.—ἑρπυλ, a division, or variety.

^f *Arsis and thesis*.—Ἀρσις and Θέσις. "*Arsis* est vocis elevatio, id est, initium; *Thesis*, vocis positio, hoc est, finis."—Isidor. Hispal., *Etymolog.* lib. iii. c. 20.

^g *Half verse*.—This seems to mean that there is assonance or rhyme in the middle of every line: as, *vetustus*, *ingenitus*; *origines*, *crepidine*; *secula*, *infinita*, &c. See the corresponding passage in the Preface in the *Leabhar Breacc*, p. 225, *infra*.

^h *Of His creatures*.—i. e. as compared with Him. The first stanza relating to God, and the remainder to His creatures, it was fit that the first should consist of a greater number of lines.

Now the proper manner of singing this Hymn is, that *Quis potest Deo*¹ be sung between every two chapters: and it is thus that its grace shall be [upon him that sings it], because it was so it was sung at first. Now there are many graces upon this Hymn, viz., Angels present whilst it is sung; the Devil shall not know the path of him who sings it every day; and neither shall his enemies perceive him in the day on which he sings it; and, moreover, there shall be no strife in the house in which it is frequently sung. It protects against every kind of death, except death on the pillow²; and there shall be neither hunger nor nakedness in the place where it is frequently sung: *et alia multa*³ sunt.

The Preface in the *Leabhar Breacc*, fol. 109 a, differs in some particulars from the foregoing. It is as follows, with a literal translation:

Altur pproetop. Columcille pecit hunc
 gmmum Trinitati per septem annor in
 cellula nigra .i. in uibnecter inDoinne
 Choluncille. no ip cuhobund cena dopo-
 nab ut alii dicunt .i. Intan noboi Colum-
 cille in hif a oenup uet boethin na pappao
 namd. IS and epa popaillygeb do Colum-
 cille oegib do thibeche chuci .i. Moppep-
 riup de muincop Driogoiu cancatop duice-
 rum 6 Rom conapcabaib leo do .i. in
 Morigemm Columcille, .i. epoyt epyibe
 mdsu, 7 immund na pechmame, 7 immund
 ced noidde ipntechemman 7 alia dona.
 Roisappaz epa Columcille do boethin cib
 do biub boi ipin choicdenb. Ata, ol boe-
 chin, epiachap copoi ann. Pnichailriu na
 hangebu a boethin, ol Columcille, conde-
 chadpa don muilend. Iaprin gebib epa
 Columcille pair in mboile don oloich pil ip-
 in ppointeig in hif, 7 ipe a haimm na clochi
 rin, Moelblatha, 7 ronap ropdobaib for
 cao mbiub doberap forri. Ip iaprin oc
 bul do Columcille don muilend ip and do-
 pigne in imunn becpo .i. Abiutor laboran-
 tium. 7 ip iaprinub apditrech ata.

Intan epa dopat Columcille in cecpoba

Altus proetor. Columcille fecit hunc hymnum
 Trinitati per septem annos in cellula nigra, i. in the
 Black Recles in Derry of Columcille, or as others
 say, it was composed extemporaneously¹, viz.,
 at the time when Columcille was at Hy alone.
 Boethin only excepted. And it was then revealed
 to Columcille that guests were coming to him, viz.,
 seven of the people of Gregory who came to him
 from Rome with gifts for him, viz., the Morigemm²
 [great gem] of Columcille, that is, a cross, extant
 this day; and the Hymn of the week, and a
 hymn for every night of the week, and other gifts.
 Then Columcille asked Boethin how much food
 there was in the kitchen: "There is," said Boethin,
 "a sieve of oats there." "Attend thou to the
 strangers, O Boethin," said Columcille, "whilst I
 go to the mill." After this Columcille took upon
 him the sack from the stone that is in the refec-
 tory in Hy, and the name of that stone is Moel-
 blatha, and luck was left upon all food that is laid
 upon it. It was after that, when Columcille was
 going to the mill, that he composed this little hymn,
 i.e. *Adjutor laborantium*³; and it is in alphabetical
 order it is.

When Columcille had put the first feed into the

¹ *Quis potest Deo*.—This antiphon occurs at the end of the Hymn. See p. 219, *supra*.

² *On the pillow*.—i.e. it protects from all kinds of violent death, but not from ordinary or natural death. Cf. Reeves' *Adamnan*, pp. 37, 44.

³ *Alia multa*.—i.e. there are many other privileges, *alia multa gratia*, attached to the singing of

this Hymn.

¹ *Extemporaneously*.—There are here two accounts: one, that this Hymn occupied its author seven years of study; the other, that it was composed extemporaneously. See above, p. 220.

² *Morigemm*.—See above, p. 221.

³ *Laborantium*.—See above, p. 221, note.

demonum eueniet ei quod timeat peruenire, et neciet diabulus mortem eius. Et liberet ab omni morte abique preciosa, et non erit in inferno post diem iudicii, etiam mala multa egerit, et habebit diuitias multas, et longitudinem seculi. There is alphabetical order in this hymn after the manner of the Hebrews^a. The number of letters in the alphabet is the number of chapters that is in this hymn. It is not, however, at the sides of their chapters that the Hebrews place their letters, but each letter is over its chapter to the end of the hymn. And the reason of that is, that they have a meaning^w in all their letters [*leg. in omnibus literis eorum*], and this is the meaning that runs through the chapters. And this is the reason why the Hebrews have followed the order of their own alphabet (*i. xxii. litteræ apud Hebræos*), because there are twenty-two books in the Old Testament^x. But the reason why the Greeks have twenty-four letters is, because there are ten senses of man, and ten Commandments of the Law, and four Gospels. And the reason why the Romans have three-and-twenty letters is, that there are ten senses of man, and ten Commandments of the Law, and the Trinity.

Uia nichimm bna doironas incimmonra, et acas bi eppail poipioib. .i. apicualar et suigapir. apicualar epc ubi piumt peber cum tempouibur aequir et aequa diuisione et cum aequo pondere, .i. apir et epcir, et ubi pcc rubrequenr ppo pprecedente in iure ppolucionir. Ir hi imopio in suigapir bu immbi in ppeccat

non erit in inferno post diem iudicii, etiam mala multa egerit, et habebit diuitias multas, et longitudinem seculi. There is alphabetical order in this hymn after the manner of the Hebrews^a. The number of letters in the alphabet is the number of chapters that is in this hymn. It is not, however, at the sides of their chapters that the Hebrews place their letters, but each letter is over its chapter to the end of the hymn. And the reason of that is, that they have a meaning^w in all their letters [*leg. in omnibus literis eorum*], and this is the meaning that runs through the chapters. And this is the reason why the Hebrews have followed the order of their own alphabet (*i. xxii. litteræ apud Hebræos*), because there are twenty-two books in the Old Testament^x. But the reason why the Greeks have twenty-four letters is, because there are ten senses of man, and ten Commandments of the Law, and four Gospels. And the reason why the Romans have three-and-twenty letters is, that there are ten senses of man, and ten Commandments of the Law, and the Trinity.

Now this Hymn is composed in Rhythm, of which there are two kinds, *Artificialis* and *Vulgaris*. The *Artificialis* is where the feet are made with equal times, and equal division, and with equal weight, viz., *arsis* and *thesis*; and where the subsequent is for the precedent in the right of resolution. And this is the *Vulgaris*, where there is correspondence of syllables, in quatrains and half quatrains; and

cept that death, which is precious in the sight of the Lord" (Ps. cxvi. 15), viz., Martyrdom.

^a *Hebrews*.—See above, p. 222, note c.

^w *Over its chapter*.—The allusion is evidently to Ps. cxviii. (*Heb. cxix.*), where the acrostical or alphabetical order is not in the verses, but in stanzas of eight verses; and the Latin MSS. of the Bible usually write the name of the Hebrew letter, *ALEPH*, *BETH*, &c., over each stanza. In like manner, the acrostical letter in the present Hymn belongs to the stanza of six verses, but, as our scholiast remarks, is written, not *over*, but *at the side* of each stanza.

^x *A meaning*.—i. e. the Hebrew letters have each a particular signification: *Aleph* is an ox; *Beth*, a house; *Gimel*, a camel, &c.; and the stanzas commencing with these letters have a meaning corresponding to the signification of the letters. It would be very difficult to justify this theory by actual analysis of the Psalm.

^x *Old Testament*.—The Irish is *petaplaicc*, sometimes written *betepleic* and *petaplaicc*, which is not a Celtic word, but probably a corruption of the Latin *vetus lex*; or rather, perhaps, of the older *base* of those words.

pillab, .i. cethrumthan, 7 lechranb; ocup
ireb rin pil rin immun. Sex liniae inoppro
in unoquoque capitulo, excepto primo ca-
pitulo; ocup re pillab .x. in cad line. 7
.iii. linia in primo capitulo. Cubab epa
renapbachc do beich ipna carcelab hi
pail inuoin donbulib nozonbaichea epa
renap. Cubab inoppro reptinapbachc
do beich rin charptul ap in fáchra. .i.
quod nappat de deo, quod deup inpar epc
oneaturur ruir. uel .ufi. gnabur eccleride
riguioicat, uel quod reptenariur unuer-
pitate riguioicat. uel .iii. dona rpuicup
pancti riguioicat,

Robe epa bligeb gabala inb inuimreo co
nogabcha quip potepc, etip cad dá charp-
tut de. Ocup ir de rin nobiab a pach fair,
ap ir amlab pocet arcup. 77l.

this is what is in this Hymn. Now there are six
lines in every *Capitulum*, except the first *Capitu-
lum*, and sixteen syllables in every line; and seven
lines in the first *capitulum*. It is fit that there
should be six lines in which is narrated all that was
finished in six days. And it is fit that there should
be seven lines in that [first] chapter, for this reason,
because it tells of God, for God is not comparable to
His creatures; or it signifies the seven grades of the
Church; or that the number seven denotes univer-
sality; or it signifies the seven gifts of the Holy
Ghost.

And the rule for singing this hymn is, that *Quis
potest* be sung between every two chapters of it.
And it is thus that one may have the benefit of it,
for it was thus it was first sung, etc.

On the lower margin of the page of the *Leabhar Breacc*, in which the foregoing
Preface occurs, there is the following quatrain, in a hand coeval with the MS.:—

Geib in altur cobarecht.
Na dam cept do deman bup.
Nirpíl galap rin bich.
Na cich na cuippe for cul.,
Sing the Altus seven times,
Yield not thy right to the hard demon.
There is no disease in the world,
No difficulty that it will not banish*.

The following is Colgan's abridged translation of the Preface given in his MS.,
which is supposed to be the same that is now preserved in the College of S. Isidore at
Rome:—

Locus, in quo hic Hymnus compositus erat, est Insula Hiensis. Author S. Columba Kille de nobili genere
Scotorum. Tempore Aidi filij Anmirij, Hibernie Regis, et Aidani filij Gaurani, Regis Albanie, seu Scotie
Albiensis; fuit compositus. Causa motiva fuit, tùm vt Deus in suis operibus laudetur, tùm ad deprecandam
veniam propter tria praelia inter Hibernie Principes conserta, quibus adiutandis S. Columba causam
præbuit. Erant hæc, praelium de *Cuilrathen*, praelium de *Cuilfeadh*, et praelium de *Cuile-dreimne*. Ferunt
nonnulli S. Columbam septem annis materiam hujus Hymni meditatam, antequàm ipse Opusculum com-
posuerit. Alii verò tradunt ipsum ex tempore illud composuisse tali occasione. Cùm S. Columba et
S. Baithenus die quadam in Insula Hiensi ab alijs sequestrati agerent; S. Columba ad Baithenum ait;

* *Hard*.—Obdurate, tyrannical, hard-hearted.

* *Banish*.—Literally, put behind.

Fili supervenient hodie nobiles et peregrini hospites à Gregorio Pontifice Summo cum gratis donarijs ad nos missi. Equum ergo est tantis hospitibus de decante refectione provideatur. Et cum postea vir Sanctus intelligeret nihil domi reperiri, quo vilo modo etiam minùs decenter, quàm par erat, possent refici, præter vnam frumenti mensuram; tunc ipse cucurrit festinus ad vicinum molendinum: et antequàm molendinum injecta grana contriverat, vel in farinam resolverat, ipse Hymnum absolvit. Ordine Alphabetico Hymnus hic compositus est. Quælibet ejus strophæ (excepta prima, quæ septem constat) sex versiculis, seu lineis constat; et singulæ lineæ sedecim syllabis. Opusculum hoc iam absolutum, fuit ab auctore per quosdam discipulos præsentatum et oblatum Gregorio Magno Pontifici in recognitionem pretiosissimi donarii (nempe Sanctissimæ Crucis, quæ *Mor-ghem*, id est Magna, seu Pretiosa gemma, vocatur) quod idem Sanctissimus Pontifex ante S. Columbæ per suos legatos miserat. Pro tribus autem capitulis, seu strophis ejusdem Opusculi, à S. Columba compositis; qui incipiunt; *Hic sublatus è medio*, &c. *Orbem infra et legimus*, &c. *Vagatur ex climatico*, &c. discipuli ejus legati sustituerunt tres alios à se compositos, vel animo expiscandi summè tunc prædicatam S. Pontificis virtutem et sanctimoniam; vel reverà dispositione occulta Divini Numinis volentis utriusque Sancti eximiam virtutem reddere orbi notiozem. Cùm enim Hymnus ille coràm Gregorio recitaretur, Angeli Dei recitantes stipabant: quibus visis Pontifex Sanctus è sede assurgens, in pedes se erexit: et sic stans venerandus perstitit. donec ad supposititias strophas perventum esset: quibus legi cœptis Angeli recedebant, ac illis recedentibus Pontifex illicò in sede subsedit. Ac postquàm jam tertio alternatis vicibus Pontifex ad lectionem supposititorum capitulorum resedisset, ac ad genuinorum resurrectionem assurrexisset; tandem finitâ Hymni lectione Gregorius Hymnum depravatam esse in spiritu recognoscens, missos nuncios adiurat, quatenus fateantur, an ipsi vel alij aliqua in Hymno immutaverint. Illi religione perculsi, suam culpam, miraculo proditam, fatentur, veniamque supplices deprecantur, ac obinent à Clementi Pontifice, qui et Opusculum magnopere laudavit, solumque illud sibi in eo displicere dixit, quod author parcius in eo de Trinitate disseruerit, quàm optaret. Et hæc fuit occasio, ob quam S. Columba composuerit alium subsequentem Hymnum, qui incipit; *In te Christe credentium* &c. Plures piè creduntur gratiæ et virtutes huic Hymno divinitus concessæ. Prima, quod piè eum recitantes, nec à dæmone sint infestandi, nec ab hoste vulnerandi, eo die quo eum recitaverint. Secunda, quod à litibus et discordijs domus illa sit immunis in qua consueverit recitari. Tertia, quod locus in quo consueverit recitari, à fame et inopia sit præservandus. Quarta, quod quotidie eum recitans, non aliâ quàm naturali et placida morte sit interiturus, &c.—*Triad. Thaum.*, p. 473.

O'Donnell, in his Life of St. Columba, as published in a Latin abridgment by Colgan, has also given the Legend relating to the occasion of composing the Altus, in a form evidently taken from some copy of the Book of Hymns. As Colgan's work is very scarce, and as this narrative shows how O'Donnell understood some passages of the Prefaces, it may be well to insert his version of the story here:—

Sanctus Gregorius Papa cùm die quadam Romæ in sua Ecclesia sacrosancto interesset Missæ sacrificio, vidit crucem ligneam Angelorum manibus super altare collocari: quam quidam ex adstantibus Clericis dùm inde levare aut aliò transferre niterentur, nequaquam loco dimovere potuerunt. Cunctis eam ob rem admiratione attonitis, summus ipse Pontifex accessit, crucemque continuò levans; Hæc, inquit, palàm ad adstantes, nec mihi, nec cuiquam vestrum; sed cuidam Dei servo, cui nomen Columba, extremum orbem incolenti, à Deo est destinata! Quare accersitos quosdam Clericos jubet ut se itineri accingant, et demissum cœlitus donum præmemorato Christo famulo in Hy insulam perferant. Ijs profectis, et jam Hiensi cœnobio vicinis S. Columba de eorum adventu et suscepti itineris causa ab Angelo admonitus; hac nocte, inquit ad suos, venerabiles ad nos hospites Gregorij Papæ nuntij divertent: curate igitur ut ijs bene sit de cœna provisum.

Paulò post cùm illi advenissent, nihilque in Monasterio repertum, quod tantis hospitibus dignum erat apponi, præter unum subcineritium panem, et poculum unum vini in usum sacrificij reservatum; vir Sanctus eam ob rem verecundatus, illa ipsa adferri iussa in Christi nomine benedixit, et iam hospitibus apposita, Christo annuente sic multiplicavit, ut hospitibus totique familiæ reficiendis abundè suffecerint. Porro nuntii Pontificis commissum donum viro Sancto consignarunt; estque illud celebre monumentum quod in Torachia occidua Hiberniæ insula (cujus supra mentio sæpiùs facta est) in memoriam Columbæ asseruatam Crux magna vulgò appellatur.

Post hæc S. Columba tres à suis discipulis Romam ablegavit, qui rythmum quem in Sanctissimæ Trinitatis laudem ipse composuerat paucis verbis multa obtrusiora sacræ scripturæ mysteria complexus, Sancto Gregorio Magno præsentarent. Nuntii ergò Romam perlati priusquàm creditam opellam Pontifici porrexerant, tria ex eius medio capitula, substitutis totidem, quæ ipsi fuerant commenti, temerè expunxerunt, experimentum scilicet ea re facturi an Gregorius cujus tùm fama sanctitatis increbuerat, supposititia metra à reliquis discerneret; vel an pari laudi utraque commendaret. Rythmum itaque sic interpolatum cum Sancto Antistiti præsentassent, et coràm eo, eique assistente purpuratorum corona iussi legere cœpissent. Magnus Pontifex se in pedes erexit, sicque venerabundus perstitit, donec ad apochripa illa capitula perventum erat: quibus legi cœptis, continuo resedit; sed iam perfectis iterato surgens, reliqua stans excepit. Ad hæc admirati quidam præsentium optimatum, cùm insuetæ et aliquantisper interruptæ venerationis causam sciscitarentur; respondit Pontifex se ideò, dùm Rythmi initium perlegeretur, stetisse, quod interea Angelos Sanctos stipasse legentium latera conspexisset; postea verò subsedisse, quòd boni Genii aliquantisper disparuissent; hæc iterum se venerabundum surrexisse, et in eo situ in finem perseverasse. Ad hæc audita nuntii simul admiratione attoniti, simul etiam religione perculsi, suam imposturam, certam scilicet interruptæ Angelorum præsentis causam humiliter fassi, temeritatis veniam obtinuerunt à Clementi Pontifice; qui et oblatum rythmum magnopere laudavit, et authorem Apostolicæ sedis indultis auctum, suo nomine salutare mandavit.—*Triad. Thaum.*, p. 412.

NOTE B.

The Gloss in the Leabhar Breacc.

As the various readings of the text, or rather fragment of the text, of this Hymn, preserved in the *Leabhar Breacc**, have been already fully given in the notes, it will only be necessary to publish here the interlinear Gloss which occurs in that MS. It is quite different from the Gloss in the *Liber Hymnorum*, although in some places they coincide, as if taken from some common source. It is necessary to state that this fragment contains only the stanzas or "Capitula" A to H, inclusive. The numbers refer to the lines of the Hymn.

1. *Altus*². bñb òna altur ⁊ almur hic plumb huairle, et ideo ponitur hic, ap plumbib huairle acur irle do ut cicepo dicat altum mare et altum celum. Almur imorro

* *Leabhar Breacc*.—"Speckled Book," in Old Irish leabap breacc. The adjective *Breacc* has generally hitherto been spelt *Breac*, incorrectly, however; the ancient orthography was *brece*, as is

shown by the corresponding word in Welsh, viz., *brych*, where the *ch* has certainly arisen from the combination *cc*, as in *iechnit* (sanitas), Old Irish *icc*; *bichan* (parvus), O. Ir. becc; *pechawt*

huaple tantum conneir. ["Now *altus* and *almus* both denote nobility: and therefore it (viz. *altus*) is put here, for it denotes high and low, as Cicero says, *Altum mare, et altum cœlum*. *Almus* signifies nobleness only."]

Proseator^c. In the margin is this note, "Seminator, vitis; sertor, agri; sator, horti; sero, sevi, statum [leg. satum]; uminor, idem; sator; prosero, vi, prositatum; incop conbeni [the *tor* makes] *proseator*."

Vetustus^d. i. qui sperit [qu. fuerat] ante tempore.

Dierum. dies .i. a dividendo lucem a tenebris.

2. *Absque origine*. .i. Deus Pater origine erat prius in tempore.

Primordi. .i. quando in forma venit, vel materia uniuscuiusque rei in massa [leg. massa].

Crepidine^e. .i. cen pocneob [without end], ap fogabap crepido hio in corp cniob no cenpotha [for crepido is sometimes found to signify end or termination], ut in lege dicitur s[acerdos decurrere faciet] sanguinem ad crepidinem altaris, id est, ad fundamentum [Lev. i. 15].

3. *Est et erit*^f. .i. non proprie dicitur de deo erat, vel erit, sed tantum est, quia presens est; sed elementa erant ante, quia ut augustinus ait erant in notitia dei et non erant sua natura.

4. *Cui est*^g. .i. nemo potest esse est.

Christus. .i. misias in ebreo, christus in greco, unctus in latino.

5. *Coeternus*^h. .i. ut dicitur genuit verbum omni modo simile sibi qua locutio patris est filius ut dicit david semel locutus est [Ps. lxi. 12] id est filium unum genuit.

6. *Non tris*. .i. si dicamus tris personas unum esse deum confitemur, si unum deum confitemur tris personas credimus, .i. ut dicit hironimusⁱ si unus sol est in intigra cum luce et calore, ita est sol deus pater, lux est filius, calor est spiritus sanctus.

8. *Creavit*. Deus .i. altus *proseator*.

Angelos. .i. angelus grece. maloch, ebreice. nuntius, latine.

9. *Sedium*. .i. tronum [read thronorum].

10. *Uti*. .i. prout.

Bonitas. .i. Dei benevolentia. *Otiosa*. .i. beaich no bmdm. .i. cen mame beipnub [lazy or idle, i. e. not to bestow wealth].

11. *Trinitatis*. .i. trinitas quasi trina unitas.

(peccat-um), O. Ir. peccad; *mynye*h (frequens), O. Ir. menico; and the other examples given by Zeuss, *Gramm. Celtica*, i. 173.

^b *Altus*.—This is an attempt to explain why *altus*, not *almus*, is used in the Hymn: *altus* having a more extensive signification.

^c *Proseator*.—This note is intended to give the etymology of *Proseator*. It explains that we use *seminator*, of a vine; *sertor*, of land; and *sator*, of a garden. *Uminor* ought probably to be *seminor*. There is evidently some corruption; but the meaning seems to be that, as from *sero*, *sevi*, *satum*, comes *sator*, so also from *prosero*, *prosevi*, *prosatum*, we have the noun in *tor*, "*proseator*."

^d *Vetustus*.—The word *sperit* in this Gloss seems a mistake. Perhaps we should read *fuit*, or *fuerat*.

^e *Crepidine*.—See the note on this word, p. 206, *supra*.

^f *Est et erit*.—The Editor has been unable to find the words here quoted from St. Augustine.

^g *Cui est*.—The reference is probably to Exod. iii. 14, "Nemo potest esse xst."

^h *Coeternus*.—The interpretation here given to the words, "semel locutus est," will be found in St. Augustine; *Enarr.* in Ps. lxi. 12, "Apud se semel Deus locutus est, quia unum Verbum genuit Deus."

ⁱ *Hironimus*.—The Editor has not found this passage in St. Jerome's works.

- Largiatia*. .i. արիւր Երևար բոբոյ Եւա բրա ԲՈՒԼ [because God was munificent to his creatures].
12. *Haberet*. Ut.
Celestia. .i. misterio, vel elimenta.
Pricelegia. [*sic*] .i. բոմաբ յո Երբբոցսոս անկի բեչ յա ԲՈՒԼ արչեմա [the great dignity or illustriousness of angels above all the other creatures].
13. *Magnopere*. .i. Իմմոթցեմեչի [leg. Իմմոթցեմեչի, which is an exact translation of *magnopere*].
Fatimini. .i. օնժ ար բեբեթ [from the word *fetor* (i. e. *fateor* or *fator*)].
14. *Celi*. .i. Celum a celsitudine sua nomen rectissime accepit.
Apice. Apicem dicit. .i. culmen regni aut summitatem.
15. *Venustate*. i. quasi honorabilitate. *Speciminis*, i. յա ԲԵԼԼԻ, յո ԻՆ ԶՆԵՅ [of the countenance, or outward appearance].
Lucifer. i. lucem ferens.
Formaverat. i. deus.
16. *Apostataque*. .i. յանժրբեմմեչ [the fallen ones] apostata grece: recessor a fide vel vilis [read vilis] interpretatur.
Lugubri. .i. lugubri. i. հեբիլ. i. ԻմմոթԲՈՒԲԱ ԵՈՒԲԻՄ ՍՈԲԵՐԻՄ Դ ԲՈՆԱ ԲՈՒԼԻԲ արչեմա ՍԱՐ ԲՈՄԵԼ ԵԱՐԻՄԵԵԽ անգելոսոս ԻԱԵ [i. in great melancholy to themselves, and to other creatures also, because the transgression of the angels deceived them].
18. *Cenodoxiae*. .i. ceno, uanae, doxia grece gloria interpretatur. .i. ԻՆ ԵՐՄԱԻԵ ՐԻՐ [of the perpetual oblivion], a diabulo contra hominem.
19. *Ceteris*. .i. angeli perfecti.
In suis principatibus. .i. in proposito suo perseverant in celo.
20. *Draco*. .i. diabolus, duplex consiliator interpretatur; dia, Grece, duo, latine; bulus, Grece, consiliator, latine.
21. *Serpens*. .i. ԻՆ արլաչ բոթժոմ [the tempting of Adam].
21. *Lubricus*. .i. lubricus, eoque ibi labitur, lubrum .i. օրան ԻՆ օրյեմե բոթ յա ԼԵՆԱՄ ԵՄԼԵ ար Ե (Բ)ԼԵՄՈՒ բեբ ԵԲԵՆԵ, Դ ԵՈԲԵՐԱՐ ՍԱԲ ար ԵԱԺ ԲԼԵՄՈՆ Դ ԵՈՒՆ ԲԻԵ ԻՆ ԵԲԱՐ Դ ԻՐ ԵՈԱ ԵԱԵԲԻԵ ԵՈԶՄԻԽԵԲ ԻՆ ԴԻՐԻԵ [i. e. a tree in the East on which flies stick because of its lubricity, *sed cadent*, and from it the name is given to everything slippery; and it is from the dung of birds that live in its top that the silk was manufactured].
- Sapientior*. .i. sapientia fit in bono et in malo, in bono ut dicitur, initium sapientie timor domini, ut dicit christus, perdam sapientiam sapientium huius mundi, vel sapientia ԲՈՐԲԲՈ [folly], ut dicit sapientia huius mundi.
22. *Bestia*. .i. bestia ab essu [from eating] more feriatatis [*sic*] dicta est.
Terras. .i. terra dicta est a torrento, eoque commouentium gressibus atteritur.
Ferocioribus. .i. ferox eoque feriatatem exercent.
23. *Tertiam partem*. .i. graduum celestium.
Siderum. .i. angelorum.
Trazit. .i. draco.
Barathrum. .i. in puteum .i. quasi voratrum .i. uorago ut circirijs [?] dicit, Baratrum .i. hiatus terre .i. putrens in profundo maris et terre. Baratrum .i. loc ԻԼԼԻԵՐ ԲԵՆՈՐԻ Դ ՈՒ ԵԼԼԻԵՐ ար ԵՈ ԵԲՐ. Դ ԵՈԲԵՐԱՐ ՍԱԲ ար ԵԱԽ ԶՐԱՄ արչեմա [i. e. a place into which old people are cast, they are not let out of it till death, and the name is given from it to every kind of incarceration besides].

24. *Infernalium*. .i. in puteum.
Carcerum. .i. isidorus dicit eo quod homines coercentur. [*Etymol.* lib. v. c. 27, xv. c. 2.]
25. *Refugas*. .i. elathcha [i. deserters].
Veri luminis. .i. christi.
Parasito. .i. parasita, *puirpreoir* no *bneacaine* no *brenchuthi* [i. parasita, a buffoon or deluder, or a stinking pond, den, or dungeon].
Precipites. .i. *innac[η]arcap[η] a diabulo* [i. e. cast down by the devil].
26. *Excelsus*. .i. deus .i. quasi valde excelsus.
Machinam. i. *innair* no *in chuichech* [the mass, or the machine].
Armoniam. .i. *intimchuibbiur p[il] et[er] na buile* [the harmony which is between the creatures], ut dicit boetius¹, .i. *buime o buime* [between man and man] et cetera.
27. *Celum et terram*. .i. pro omni creatura uisibile, vel corpus.
Mare. .i. seculum vel scribura.
Aguas. *mapairt*, ebraice; *maron*, grece; *mare*, latine dicitur; *aguas* dicuntur tribulationes seculi, vel doctrina scribura.
28. *Herbarum*. .i. herba quasi serpa, eo quod serpit.
Virgultorum. .i. *innacaille* no *innapuba* [i. e. of the wood, or of the forest].
Arbuscula. .i. na *pualapcacha*.
29. *Solem*. .i. christum.
Lunam. .i. ecclesiam.
Sidera. .i. iusti.
Ignem. .i. iudicte vel gratias, et preces sancti.
Bestias. .i. ferociiores seculi, ut dicitur, quicquid ore bibit bestia nominatur.
31. *Hominem*. .i. adam vel christum. *Demum* .i. *παθεοιβ*.
Regere. .i. omnia elimenta.
Protoplastum. .i. *cetchp[ut]a* [first-formed], *protos*, grece; *primus*, latine; *plastum*, grece; *formatum* latine dicitur; vel *protoplastum* grece, *corpus* latine dicitur.
32. *Etheris*. .i. *metheoir* [of the ether, or air].
33. *Conlaudaverunt*. Postquam creati sunt dicentes, *sanctus, sanctus, sanctus dominus deus sabaoth*.
Pramirabili. .i. *apinnoppeb n[on]p[er]man[er]* [i. e. on the great operator].
34. *Molis*. Non corporalis molis.
*Presagmine*². *Presagmine* .i. o *thaircetul* no o *fl[or]gair[de]incecht* [leg. *fl[or]g airchembecht*] *ap p[er]p[er]ul* γ *agmen* *p[il] an[on]b* γ *irp[er]b* *reim* *nobo[is]* *bo* *adam* [i. e. from instruction, or from host-leadership: for *presul* and *agmen* are in it; and that is what was Adam's] *ut dicitur c[ir]c[um] d[omi]n[u]m*, *dona-vit deus cuncta*. Adam vero nominibus ea nominavit.
- Opificem*. .i. *gnimbenmaib*. .i. opus et faciens.
35. *Preconio*. .i. *onbupdonail molbchaige*. .i. [from the praiseful exclamation] *sanctus, sanctus, sanctus dominus deus sabaoth*.
36. *Concentuque*. .i. on *taipchetul e[ne]p[er]gna* [i. e. from the illustrious instruction].
Grates. pro gratias, sed causa rithmi.

¹ Boetius.—The Editor has not succeeded in verifying this reference.

² Presagmine.—In the Gloss on this word, *c[ir]c[um] d[omi]n[u]m* seems as if intended for *Cicero*, but is possibly a

blunder for *οἱ*, i. e. *οἱ* *π[er]p[er]e*, or Hieronymus, for so the Irish call St. Jerome; but the Editor has not found the words quoted in any of St. Jerome's writings.

37. *Amore*. .i. pro.
Arbitrio. .i. arbitrium est proprium [sic] conatus anime.
Natura. .i. [nt] innanaicniub nochlannab molab b6 [(not) in their nature was the praise of God planted], sed in voluntate et postetate [potestate] sua, sicut ostendit ante, ubi dixit, amore et arbitrio, quod dicit augustinus natura quæ nec recipit minus nec plus quam quod ab origine trahit, non invitus ergo laudante dominum sed ex voluntate.
38. *Grasatis*. .i. a diabulo.
Primis duobus. i. adam et eua.
39. *Zabulus*. .i. pocul gpeoba [a Greek word], de consiliariis interpretatur, vel infirmus iap gennaich no comab bon pocul ap biabulur bognethea gabulur epia. .g. a .b. epia thepcaob, or *zabulus*, was made from the word *diabulus*, through z from d [i. e. by changing d to z], through contraction [lit. cutting-down].
40. *Quorum*. .i. demoniorum.
41. *Consternarentur*. .i. na palgicir [what they concealed] quia invisibiles sunt demones.
Fragiles. .i. fragilis dicit eo quod facile frangi potest.
42. *Non valentes*. .i. na pailliricir [i. e. what they revealed].
Hec intuari. .i. agmina diabolica, vel carectera et volitantia.
43. *Fascibus*. Fascibus .i. innagrimnib .i. ina comnib amail grimne .i. cao comonb bib inaluc raingnurca amail grimne [i. e. in the bundles, i. e. in their comonds [assemblies?] like bundles, i. e. each comond of them in its proper place like a bundle.
44. *Sublatus*. .i. diabulus, .i. a conspectu dei vel ex unitate.
45. *Cujus*. .i. diabuli.
Constipatur. .i. blutair no lintair [i. e. is closed, or is filled].
Sutilitum. .i. nanamur [i. e. of the soldiers].
46. *Globo*. .i. o chuairc no o buidin [i. e. by a circle, or by a crowd].
Perduellium. .i. innanbechach, inter seipsos invicem semper, no cach contra deum et homines. Duellum .i. quasi duobus bellis bellatorum .i. qui bellis bellum interpretatur vel hostis ut cio dixit. Aliter perduellium. .i. namcibe, quia fit perduellis inimicus.
47. *Exemplaribus*. .i. o engraphib demonom [i. e. from the examples (?) of demons].
Imbuti. .i. porpchi.
48. *Septis*. .i. septus a quo septis est, semper labidum [read lapidum] est. Septus autem lignorum. .i. custodias angelicas et uirtutes christi significat.
49. *Fornicarentur*. .i. perdirentur, pro omni peccato fornicatio ponitur hic, .i. quia non delarent [sic] homines peccata sua si uide[rentur].

On the lower margin of this page (109 b) occurs the following quatrain:—

Fuil epini, fuil epini
 nablegar dobocht de bf:
 bimmba dabethab cipe,
 cepacht ocur dibeles.

There are three things, there are three things
 That are unlawful to the poor of the living God:
 Thanklessness for their life, whatsoever it be,
 Dissatisfaction and *cibele* (precipitancy?)

NOTE C.

Translation of the Hymn, and of the Scholia prefixed to its several Stanzas.

IN the following attempt to translate this Hymn, the Editor is not at all sure that he has always succeeded in expressing the author's meaning¹. The Latinity is extremely rude, and the readings in some places corrupt; nevertheless, the translation, and notes appended to it, may possibly be an assistance to some readers:—

CAPITULUM A.

The Title² is, *De unitate et Trinitate trium personarum*, and the Argument is the Canon [i. e. the text of Scripture] upon which the Capitulum is founded, as is read in Daniel [vii. 9] or in Isaias [vi. 1 ?], *Vetustus dierum sedebat super sedem suam*. Vetustus dierum eternus temporum erat. Vetustus dierum Deus dicitur, pro multitudine dierum ante quos Deus erat; vel quia fuit [per] omnia tempora. It is the canon of a prophet he gives in it, quia ipse propheta erat; and it is from Daniel in particular he takes it, because he was the latest and noblest: but Colum-cille was the latest and noblest of the prophets of Erin.

The High Father, the Ancient of Days, and unbegotten,
Was without origin of beginning, and foundation¹;
Is and shall be to infinite ages of ages;
With whom is Christ the Only-begotten, and the Holy Ghost
Coeternal in the glory of the everlasting Godhead:
We preach² not three Gods, but we say there is one God,
Saving our faith in three most glorious Persons.

5

CAPITULUM B.

This is the Title³, *De formatione novem graduum*, tribus prætermisiss, non per ignorantiam, sed pro angustia capituli prætermisit. But the Argument is, *Fiat lux et facta est*:—

He created the good Angels, Archangels, and the Orders
Of Principalities⁴, and Thrones, Powers and Virtues

¹ *Meaning*.—Dr. John Smith, Minister of Campbellton, in his *Life of St. Columba* (Edinb. 1798), has given in his Appendix (p. 137) a very loose poetical paraphrase of this Hymn, which, however, throws no light on its philological difficulties, and can scarcely be called a translation.

² *The Title*.—Colgan has abridged the Scholium thus: "Titulus est; De Vnitate et Trinitate personarum. Argumentum verò ex illo Danielis vel Isaiæ: *Vetustus dierum sedebat super sedem suam*." See note, p. 206, *supra*. The *Leabhar Breac* has, "De unitate et Trinitate Dietatis [sic] trium perso-

narum in he m cicol [this is the Title]. In imorro m angamant [this, however, is the Argument], ut dicitur in Danielo [sic], *Ecece videbam sedes possita et vetustus dierum sedebat super sedem suam*."

³ *Foundation*.—*Crepido* may signify 'foundation;' and therefore *abeque crepidine*, 'without anything to stand on,' 'self-dependent.' See note, p. 206. But perhaps it may also signify 'breach,' 'interval,' 'fissure.' See Du Cange, in *voc.*, and compare the use of the word *crebrare*, line 62 (p. 215, *supra*, and note).

That the Goodness and Majesty of the Trinity might not be inactive^a 10
 In all functions of bountifulness,
 But might have something whereby to show forth
 • Celestial privileges¹ largely in all possible expression.

CAPITULUM C.

De transmigrations² novem graduum principis, this is the Title. But it is from the Apocalypse the Argument is taken, i.e. *Vidi Stellam de celo cecidisse in terram* : et in *Isaia*, *Quomodo cecidisti Lucifer, qui mane oriebaris*.

From the summit of the kingdom of heaven, of angelic rank,
 From the brightness of effulgence, from the loveliness of beauty, 15
 Lucifer, whom God had made, fell by being proud,
 And the apostate angels, with the same mournful fall
 Of the author of vain-glory, and of obstinate envy;
 The rest remaining in their Principalities.

^a *We preach*.—"Depromimus," we put forward,
 'we propound,' or 'teach.'

¹ *This is the Title*.—Colgan gives the Scholium thus: "Tit. De formatione novem graduum Angelorum, tribus prætermisiss: non per ignorantiam, sed per augustiam capituli prætermisiss. Argumentum ex illo, *Fiat lux et facta est*." The Scholium in the *Leabhar Breacc* is as follows: "De formatione .ix. graduum, tribus prætermisiss, 176 in 707ul [this is the Title]. 171 170770 in 707amant [this, however, is the Argument], Quod in Genesi dicitur, *Fiat lux et facta est lux*."

² *Principalities*.—The reading of C., "Archangelos et ordines," has been adopted in the translation. See p. 207, note. See Col. i. 16: "Sive throni, sive dominationes, sive principatus, sive potestates." —*Vulg.* Our author uses *sedes* for *throni*, for the sake of his metre. See note, p. 207, *supra*.

³ *Inactive*.—"Uti non esset bonitas otiosa." These words occur in the Treatise, *De Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus*, which is attributed to Gennadius of Marseilles (Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs Eccl.* xv. 475), and which has also been published in the works of St. Augustine (*Ed. Bened.* viii. App. p. 75), and of Isidore of Seville (*Ed. Roma*, 1803, tom. vii. App. No. 13). The words of this Treatise, which our author evidently borrowed, are as follows:—"In principio creavit Deus celum et terram, et aquam

ex nihilo. Et quum adhuc tenebræ ipsam aquam occultarent, et aqua terram absconderet, facti sunt angeli, et omnes cælestes virtutes, ut non esset otiosa Dei bonitas, sed haberet, in quibus ante spatia bonitatem suam ostenderet," &c.—c. 10. On the author and antiquity of the book, *De Eccl. Dogmatibus*, see the *Isidoriana*, tom. ii. of the Works of S. Isidore (*supr. cit.*), p. 31, cap. 83, n. 10, sq.

⁴ *Privileges*.—The reading *Privilegia* is here adopted, for the reason assigned in the note on line 12, p. 208. It has been found impossible to make the lines of the translation coincide with those of the original, and there seemed no object in attempting to be so rigidly literal.

⁵ *De transmigrations*.—Colgan reads: "Tit. De translatione novem graduum principis. Argumentum ex illo Apocalipsa, *Vidi stellam de celo cecidisse*. Et ex *Isaia*. *Quomodo cecidisti Lucifer, qui mane oriebaris*." The Scholium in the *Leabhar Breacc* is, "De transmigatione .ix. graduum angelorum, vel de peccato Adæ, 176 in 707ul [this is the Title]. 171 170770 in 707amant [this, however, is the Argument], quod dicitur in Apocalipsa, *Vidi Stellam cecidisse in terram*. Et in *Essa* dicitur, *Quomodo Lucifer cecidisti mane oriebaris*." The passages of Scripture quoted are Apoc. ix. 1, and Ia. xiv. 12. See the notes on this Capitulum, p. 208.

CAPITULUM D.

De ruina Diaboli, is the Title: i.e. De mutatione nominis Luciferi in Draconem. And this is the Argument, ut est in Apocalypsi, *Ecce Draco Rufus habens capita septem, et cornua decem, et cauda ejus trahit secum tertiam partem siderum vel stellarum* [Apoc. xii. 3].

The Dragon, great, most foul, terrible and old, 20
Who was the slippery serpent, more wise
Than all the beasts and fiercer¹ animals of the earth,
Drew with him the third part of the stars,
Into the pit of infernal places, and of diverse prisons,
Deserters² of the true Light, cast headlong³ by the parasite. 25

CAPITULUM E.

De creatione elementorum mundi et hominis regentis ea postea more, is the Title⁴. And this is the Argument: *In principio fecit Deus celum et terram*, ut in Genesi dicitur [Gen. i. 1].

The Most High⁵ in His foresight had made the structure and harmony of the world,
The Heavens and the Earth, founded the sea and waters,
The buds also of grasses, the twigs of shrubs,
The sun, moon, and stars, the fire and necessary things,
Birds, fishes, and cattle, beasts, and animals. 30
Lastly, the first-created⁶ man, to rule with pre-eminence.

¹ *De ruina*.—Colgan gives the Scholium thus: "Tit. *De ruina Diaboli*. Argumen. vt est in Apocalypsi, *Ecce Draco magnus, rufus, habens capita septem et cornua decem: et cauda ejus trahit tertiam partem syderum seu stellarum*." The Scholium in B. is, "De ruina diaboli vel de mutatione [sic] nominis Luciferi in Draconem, Ece [sic] Draco rufus habens .vii. capita et .x. cornua, et cauda ejus trahit tertiam partem."

² *Fiercer*.—B. and C. read *ferocioribus*, which is followed in the translation.

³ *Deserters*.—The reading of B. is here adopted, *refugas*, the acc. pl. of *refuga*, in apposition with *terciam partem* (line 23):—"He drew with him the third part, &c., who were deserters, &c."

⁴ *Cast headlong*.—The Editor is by no means sure that he has translated this passage rightly: he has left the word *parasite* untranslated, because he knows not how to render it consistently with the Gloss (see p. 209, *supra*, note on l. 25). He is very much dis-

posed to adopt the conjectural reading *paradiso*, and to translate, "cast down from paradise." Or perhaps the meaning may be, "cast down from being (in a good sense) a parasite," i.e. a servant entitled to sit at his master's table.

⁵ *The Title*.—C. omits *mundi*. For "postea more," C. reads "postea more regis;" and B., "ea more regis," omitting "postea." The insertion of *regis* is necessary to the sense. In C. and B. the words, "ut in Genesi dicitur," are before, not after, the quotation.

⁶ *Most High*.—The Latin is *Excelsus*, but the Gloss in the *Leabhar Breac* is, ".i. Deus .i. quasi valde excelsus." The construction evidently is, "Excelsus [Deus] praevidens fecerat"—the Most High in His Providence, &c.

⁷ *First created*.—So *protoplastum* is evidently to be understood. The animals were brought to Adam to be named, as a symbol of his pre-eminence and superiority. See the note on *Prasagmina*, p. 210, *supra*.

CAPITULUM F.

This is the Title, *De Laude Dei ab angelis in quarta feria dicentes*, *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus, Deus Sabaoth*. This is the Argument, *Quando feci celum et terram, collaudaverunt me angeli, ut in Sapientia Salomonis*^b dicitur.

The stars, the luminaries of the ether, being made together
With wondrous structure^c; the angels joined in praising
The Lord of the immense mass, the Architect of the heavenly bodies,
With glorious, meet, and unceasing^d praise, 35
And with noble consent gave thanks to the Lord,
In love and free will, not from endowment of nature^e.

CAPITULUM G.

De peccato Adæ, et de secunda ruina Diabuli in seductione Adæ, is the Title^f. This is the Argument, *Maledictus eris serpens, terram comederis omnibus diebus vitæ*, ut in Genesi dicitur [Gen. iii. 14].

Our first two parents having been assailed and seduced,
The Devil falls a second times^g, with his satellites,
(That, by the horror of whose countenances, and their noise as they fly, 40
Frail men terrified by fear might be affrighted,
Unable with bodily sight to look on these things),
Who^h are now bound with the tiesⁱ and bonds of their prison-houses.

^a Title.—See the note, pp. 210, 211.

^b *Dicentes*.—It is so also in B.; Colgan has corrected it into *dicentibus*.

^c *Sapientia Salomonis*.—See the note, p. 211, *supra*. Both B. and C. put the clause "ut in Sapientia Solomonis dicitur" before, not after, the quotation, "Quando feci celum," &c. It is remarkable that S. Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. xix. tom. i. p. 373, *Ed. Bened.*) quotes a passage from Job as the words of Solomon (τὸ Σολομῶντος), which the Benedictine editors suppose to be a mistake: "Lapsus memoriâ hic videtur Gregorius" (they say) "dum Salomoni tribuit verba quæ in libro Job occurrunt;" but others see in this a confirmation of the opinion that Solomon was the author or translator of the Book of Job.—Hardouin, *Chronol. Vet. Test. (Opp. Select., fol. Amstel. 1709, p. 533)*. The editor is not aware of any other instance of the Book of Job being cited under the name of *Sapientia Salomonis*.

^d *Wondrous structure*.—"Factis factura præmirabili," seems to be the connexion.

^e *Unceasing*.—This seems to be the meaning of *immobile*: immovable praise is unceasing, everlasting praise.

^f *Necessity of nature*.—"Donario," gift or endowment of nature. Their praise was the result of love and free will, not arising from any natural organization or necessity. See the Gloss, p. 210.

^g *The Title*.—C. has only, "Tit. De peccato Adæ, Argum., ut in Genesi dicitur, *Maledicta serpens comedes, terram omnibus diebus vitæ tuæ*." B. gives the Scholium thus: "ἵπε ἢ τίτλ [this is the Title], De peccato Adæ. ἵρ ἡ ἰνὸ ἀρχαμάντ [this is the Argument], quod in Genesi dicitur *Maledictus es [sic] serpens*." See Gen. iii. 14.

^h *A second time*.—See note, p. 211.

ⁱ *Who*.—i. e. the Devil and his satellites.

^j *Ties*.—"Fascis" seems here used in the sense of *fascia*, a tie or ligature.

CAPITULUM H.

De ejectione Diaboli ex unitate angelorum, is the Title¹. But this is the Argument, what is said in Genesis, *Maledicte serpens*. And in the Gospel is said, *Vade retro Satanas* [Mat. iii. 10], *et non temptabis Dominum Deum tuum et illi soli servies* [Mat. iii. 7].

He, taken from the midst², is cast down by the Lord,
And the space³ of the air is thickly filled 45
With the turbid crowd of his rebellious satellites
Invisible,—lest men infected by their evil examples and crimes,
No screens or walls ever hiding them,
Should openly commit fornication⁴ before the eyes of all.

CAPITULUM I.

De eo quod vehunt nubes aquas ad celum, this is the Title⁵. And this is the Argument, as David says, *Educens nubes ab extremo terræ*; and elsewhere he says, *Qui producit ventos de thesauris suis*.

The clouds carry the wintry floods from the springs, 50
From the three⁶ deeper regions of the ocean sea,
To the climates of heaven, in azure whirlwinds;
[Floods⁷] which are to become profitable to the crops, vineyards, and buds,
[The clouds] being driven by the winds issuing from their treasure-houses,
And which⁸ empty in turns the pools of the sea. 55

¹ Title.—C. gives "the Argument" thus: "Argumentum. ut in Genesi dicitur; *Maledicta* [sic] *serpens comedens terram omnibus diebus*, &c. Et ut in Evangelio; *Vade retrò sathana*, &c."

² The midst.—i. e. from the midst of the angels, or of heaven. The Gloss in B. explains it, "i. a conspectu Dei, vel unitate."

³ And the space.—"Cujus" is paraphrased, and his, as best expressing the meaning. See the note, p. 212.

⁴ Fornication.—The Gloss explains that *fornicarentur* here signifies "perdirentur"—lest men should destroy themselves after the example of the devils; or that fornication is put for all sin—"pro omni peccato fornicatio ponitur."

⁵ Title.—C. reads, "De eis qui vehunt aquas ad celum;" and for "et alibi dicit" C. has "et ut idem alibi dicit." The words quoted, however, occur in the same passage, Ps. cxxxiv. 7, *Vulg.*

⁶ The three.—It does not appear why our author speaks of "three" *doctrantes* of the sea; even

though that word be used in the general sense of a region or division of the ocean, which the Editor has assumed to be its meaning here, in order to escape the difficulty of a literal translation. See the note, p. 213. He has also taken "*occiani*" as in apposition with "*maris*;" or perhaps we might translate, "the sea of ocean."

⁷ [Floods].—The word "*profuturas*" must agree with "*pontias*," and "*agitatæ*" with "*nubes*." To express this in English it was necessary to repeat the words *floods* and *clouds* here given within brackets.

⁸ And which.—The Gloss tells us that "*quique*" refers to "*venti*." If so, the antecedent "*flaminibus*" would have required "*quæque*;" and as this would be as consistent with the metre as "*quique*," it is strange that our author should have adopted the latter, if he had meant *flaminibus* to be the antecedent. It seems to the Editor more probable that the reference is to the word "*fontibus*" (line 50), as "*nubes*" and "*pontias*" in the same line were just

CAPITULUM K.

De intolerabili pana peccatorum, is the Title. This is the Argument, quod Job dicit, *Eccē Gigantes gemunt sub aquis* [Job, xxvi. 5].

The tottering and tyrannical and temporary present glory
Of the world and of kings, set aside¹ by the will of God,
Lo! the giants are justly doomed² to groan under waters
With great torment; to be burnt up with fire and punishment,
And smothered with the swelling Charybdis's³ of Cocytus,
Overwhelmed with Scylla's, are dashed to pieces with waves and rocks⁴. 60

CAPITULUM L.

The Title⁵ is, *De moderatione pluvie venientis ex ligatis aquis nubibus ne pariter fluant*. And this is the Argument, quod Job dicit, *Qui suspendit aquas in nubibus ne pariter fluant deorsum* [Job, xxvi. 8].

The Lord drops down continually the waters bound up in the clouds,
Lest they should break forth all at once, bursting their barriers,
From whose⁶ very fertilizing streams, gradually flowing,
As from udders, through the regions of this earth,
Cold and warm⁷ at different seasons,
The never-failing rivers are constantly flowing in. 65

before disposed of. Thus the first three lines of this stanza are a statement of the author's notion of the natural phenomenon of rain. The clouds carry up to heaven, from the fountains of the great deep, the waters—whose uses he then proceeds in the next three lines to explain: they are carried up, in order that they may become profitable to the crops and vegetation of the earth; the clouds are driven and carried about by the winds; and the springs or fountains of the ocean, being thus alternately exhausted and replenished, produce the reciprocal flux and reflux of the tides. If this interpretation be correct, we have here a curious ancient philosophical theory of the cause of the tides.

¹ *Title*.—Colgan gives the Scholium thus: "Tr. De intolerabili pana peccatorum infinita. Argumentum ut in Libro Job dicitur, *Eccē Gigantes gemunt sub aquis*."

² *Set aside*.—i. e. their glory being set aside, "Gloria nutu Dei deposita."

³ *Justly doomed*.—"Comprobantur," lit. are approved: that is, it is evident to all that their

doom is just. The meaning seems to be, that the antediluvian giants, who were supposed to be kings, having had their temporal worldly glory put an end to by the just judgment of God, were cast into hell.

⁴ *Charybdis's*.—It is necessary to retain the words, Charybdis, Cocytus, and Scylla, because they seem to have been intentionally used by our author as mythologically connected with the punishment of the giants in hell.

⁵ *Rocks*.—"Scopilibus," apparently for *scrupis*, rough or sharp stones.

⁶ *The Title*.—Colgan gives the Scholium thus: "De moderatione pluvie vehementis. Argumentum, ut in libro Job dicitur, *Qui suspendit aquas in nubibus, ne pariter fluant*."

⁷ *From whose*.—i. e. of the waters, for *quarum* can only refer to *aquas*. The waters bound up in the clouds are, as it were, the breasts, or udders, from which the rivers of the earth are supplied.

⁸ *Cold and warm*.—i. e. from whose fertilizing streams, which are cold and warm at different seasons.

CAPITULUM M.

De fundamento terræ et de abisso, this is the Title. And this is the Argument, quod Job dicit, *Qui suspendit terram [super nihilum]*. Et alibi dicit, *Moles mundi virtute Dei continetur*. Et in Psalmo, *Qui fundasti terram super stabilitatem suam*.

By the Divine powers of the great God are sustained
The globe of Earth, and the established^a circle of the great abyss.
The strong hand^b of the omnipotent God
Supporting on columns, as on beams sustaining the same^c;
The promontories and rocks, on solid foundations^d,
Immovable as on certain strengthened bases.

70

CAPITULUM N.

De inferno in imis posito in corde terræ et penis ejus et loco, this is the Title. And this is the Argument. *Eruisti animam meam ex inferno [inferiori]*. Ut in Evangelio dicitur. *Sepultus est dives in inferno*. Et alibi *Ite Maledicti in eternum ignem*. Et alibi *Vermis eorum non moritur, et ignis eius non extinguitur*.

To no man seemeth it doubtful that Hell is in the lowest places,
Where are darkness, worms, and dreadful beasts,
Where is sulphureous fire blazing with consuming flames,
Where are the groans of men, weeping, and gnashing of teeth.
Where is the terrible and ancient^e wall of Gehenna.
Where is the fiery horrid burning of thirst and hunger.

75

CAPITULUM O.

The Title is, *Of the inhabitants of Hell, who from very shame bow down in the name of the Lord*. The

^a *The Title*.—The Scholium, as given by Colgan, is as follows: "Trr. De fundamento terræ, et de abyso. Argumen. et in Libro Job: *Qui suspendit terram suprâ nihilum*. Et vt in eodem alibi, *Moles mundi virtute Dei continentur*. Et vt in Psalmo, *Fundasti terram super stabilitatem suam*." The passages quoted are Job, xxvi. 7, and Ps. ciii. 5. The second passage is quoted as from the Book of Job. The reader will observe the Irish orthography "abiso" for *abyss*, and "molis" for *moles*.

^b *Established*.—"Inditus," appointed, fixed, settled.

^c *Strong hand*.—See notes, p. 216, above. *Suffulta* seems to be used here in an active sense—"supporting."

^d *The same*.—Scil. the globe of earth.

^e *On solid foundations*.—i. e. resting on solid foundations; an ablative absolute.

^f *Title*.—The words and parts of words supplied in brackets are obscure in the MS. Colgan gives the Scholium thus: "Trr. De inferno in imis posito in corde terræ, et penis ejus, ac loco. Argumentum vt in Psalmo: *Et eruisti animam meam ex inferno inferiori*. Et in Evangelio: *Sepultus est in Inferno*. Et alibi; *Ite Maledicti in ignem eternum*." The passages of Scripture referred to are, Ps. lxxxv. 13; Luc. xvi. 22; Matt. xxv. 41; Marc. ix. 48.

^g *Ancient*.—Or perhaps *antiquus* may be used in the sense of perpetual, usual, constant.

^h *Title*.—This and the seven following stanzas are supplied from Colgan, a leaf being lost in the Dublin MS. See above, p. 217, and Note D.

Argument, as in the Apocalypse [read in the Apostle (Phil. ii. 9)], *Donavit illi nomen, quod est super omne nomen, &c.* And as in the same [Apoc. v. 1], *Vidi librum in dextra sedentis super thronum, &c.*

Below the earth^b, as we read, we know there are dwellers 80
Whose knee in prayer¹ oft bendeth to the Lord,
To whom it is impossible to unroll the book written,
And sealed¹ with [seven] seals,
Which He^k had opened, and so became victorious,
Fulfilling the prophesied pre-eminence¹ of His advent. 85

CAPITULUM P.

The Title is, *De Paradiso Ada, id est, loco deliciarum.* The Argument, as is said in Genesis, *Plantaverat Paradisum volupta[tis] a principio* [Gen. ii. 8]. And in the Apocalypse [ii. 7], *Dabo ei manducare de ligno quinto* [leg. *vita*], *quod est in Paradiso Dei mei.* And again [xxii. 2], *Ex utraque parte fluminis lignum vita, afferens duodecim fructus per singulos menses, et folia ligni in curationem gentium.*

That Paradise was planted by the Lord from the beginning,
We read in the most noble beginning of Genesis,
From whose fountain four rivers are flowing,
And in whose flowery midst is placed^m the tree of life,
Whose leaves bringing health to the Gentiles do not fall, 90
Whose joysⁿ are unspeakable and abundant.

CAPITULUM Q.

The Title^o is, *De ascensione Moysis ad Dominum in monte Sinai*; as is said in the Law, *Moyse ascendit, et descendit gloria ejus super montem Sinai* [Exod. xxiv. 15, 16]. Or the more correct Title is, *De*

^b *Below the earth.*—This seems founded on Apoc. v. 3: "No man in heaven, or in earth, or under the earth, could open the book;" and cf. v. 13; also Phil. ii. 10. In the title they are spoken of as the "incolæ inferni qui vel rubore flectunt in nomine Domini."

¹ *In prayer.*—This word seems here to be an adverb; "precario flectit," bends prayerwise, or in prayer.

¹ *Sealed.*—Colgan gives this line imperfectly thus:—

"Ob signatum signaculis . . . monitis;"

the intermediate words having doubtless been illegible in the MS. Perhaps the hiatus may be thus supplied:

"Ob signatum signaculis septem licet præmonitis."

"Although having been forewarned and called upon to do so."—Apoc. v. 2.

^k *Which He.*—"Idem" seems to refer to Do-

mino, ver. 81. But the construction is obscure, and the text probably corrupt—"Which [book] He the same Lord had opened, by which [book] He had become Conqueror"—Victor, alluding to Apoc. v. 5: "Ecce vicit Leo de tribu Juda," &c.

¹ *Pre-eminence.*—"Præsignamina." See p. 209, *supra*, and note, p. 210; also Add. Note B, p. 23. But it is probable that "præsignamen" is here used in the sense of prophecy: "fulfilling the prophetic predictions of His coming."

^m *Is placed.*—"Cujus et tua" in Colgan's text, which makes no sense, is corrected in his errata to "cujus et situm," and the line has been translated accordingly.

ⁿ *Whose joys.*—For "cujus inenarrabiles" in the original of this line, as given by Colgan, perhaps we should read "cujus sunt innarrabiles."

^o *Title.*—The second version of the Title and Argument here given is a proof of the antiquity of the

mirabilibus gloria adventus Domini in montem. But the Argument is, *Facta sunt tonitrua, et voces, et fulgura, et terra motus* [Apoc. xvi. 18].

Who hath ascended to Sinai, the appointed^p mountain of the Lord?
 Who hath heard the thunders beyond measure resounding?
 Who the clang of the enormous trumpet^q roaring?
 Who hath seen also the lightnings flashing around?
 Who the lamps^r and darts and falling rocks?
 Who but Moses the judge of the people of Israel?

95

CAPITULUM R.

The Title is, *De Die judicii, et nominibus ejus.* The Argument, what Zephaniah says, *Juxta est dies Domini magnus et veloc nimis*, &c. [Zeph. i. 14-16].

The day of the Lord, of the King of Kings most righteous, is at hand:
 A day of wrath and vengeance, of darkness and cloud;
 And a day of wonderful strong thunders;
 A day of trouble also, of grief and sadness;
 In which shall cease the love and desire of women,
 And the strife of men, and the lust of this world.

100

CAPITULUM S.

The Title is, *De tremebunda presentia Dei, in die judicii.* The Argument, as in the second Epistle to the Corinthians [v. 10], *Oportet nos omnes stare ante Tribunal Christi*, &c. And as is said in the Gospel, *Filius hominis venturus est in gloria sua, tunc reddet unicuique secundum opera sua* [Matt. xvi. 27].

We shall be standing trembling before the judgment-seat of the Lord;
 And we shall give an account of all our deeds;
 Beholding also our crimes laid open before our sight,
 And the books of conscience opened before us,
 We shall break forth into most bitter weeping and sobs,
 The necessary matter^s of working being withdrawn.

105

CAPITULUM T.

The Title is, *De resurrectione proles Ada.* The Argument, as in the Apocalypse [read in the Apostle (1 Thes. iv. 16)], *Ipsa Dominus ut in jussu, et in voce Archangeli in tuba descendet de calo.* And again [Apoc. x. 7], *In diebus vocis septimi angeli, cum cæperit tuba canere, consummabitur mysterium Dei.*

Hymn, showing that several ancient copies of it were in circulation before the MS. from which Colgan edited it was written.

^p *Appointed*.—"Condictum." So Gen. xvii. 14, "Juxta condictum revertar ad te."

^q *Trumpet*.—Lit. "the clang of the trumpet," or "the clang of the enormity of the trumpet." *Perstrepare*, not *perstrepera*, is probably the true read-

ing. See p. 245, *infra*.

^r *The lamps*.—Alluding to Exod. xx. 18.

^s *The necessary matter*.—The meaning is obscure; the author probably intended to say that there shall then no longer be any power of doing good or evil: and so no place for repentance; there being no longer any "materia operandi"—no means of making amends.

The trumpet of the first Archangel sounding wondrous things, 110
 The strongest cloisters, and cemeteries, shall burst,
 The melting cold^a of the men of this present world,
 The bones gathering together from all sides to their joints,
 The ethereal souls meeting the same,
 And returning again to their due mansions. 115

CAPITULUM U.

The Title is, *De tribus sideribus, thronos septem significantibus*. The Argument, as in the Book of Job, *Qui fecit Oriona, et interiora Austri* [Job, ix. 9]. *Numquid Luciferum et Vesperum in tempora certa constituisti* [Job, xxxviii. 22].

[This Capitulum is so corrupt in Colgan's Edition of the Hymn, that the Editor does not venture to attempt a translation. See Note D.]

CAPITULUM X.

The Title is, *De die iudicii et præfulgente ligno crucis*. The Argument, as in the Apocalypse [vi. 15, 16], *Abcondent se in speluncis et petris montium; et tunc dicent montibus, super nos cadite*. And in the Gospel [Matt. xxiv. 29], *Statim posturbationem dierum illorum sol obscurabitur, et luna non dabit lumen suum, et stella cadent de caelo*.

Christ the Most High Lord coming down from Heaven,
 The most glorious sign and banner of the Cross shall shine,
 And the two principal luminaries being struck,
 The stars shall fall to the earth, as fruit from the fig-tree, 125
 And the compass of the world shall be as the burning of a furnace,
 Then shall the hosts hide themselves in the caves of the mountains.

CAPITULUM Y.

De Laude Dei [Domini. C.] ab angelis, is the Title. But this is the Argument, what is said in the Apocalypse [iv. 4], *In circuitu throni vidi sedes, xxi. seniores, sedentes in veste alba et capitibus eorum corona aurea vidi*.

By the chaunting of hymns continually resounding
 Thousands of Angels singing in holy dances; 130

^a *Cemeteries*.—See Du Cange, in v., *Polyandrum*, *Polyandrium*.

^b *The cold*.—This line is very obscure, and the readings probably corrupt. Is the word *frigora* the subject or object of *erumpent*? And is *liquescentia* a participle?—if so, what is the construction? "Liquescentia" occurs in Du Cange as a substantive, in the sense of "apparentia, vel defectus, vel liquiditas." But this gives no very good sense.

Perhaps we should read "hominem;" and translate, "The cold of this present world, melting [i. e. dissolving or destroying] man, shall burst the cloisters and cemeteries." The translation given above is an attempt to render literally the existing text; it assumes *frigora* to be the object of *erumpent*.

^c *Dances*.—"Tropodiis," perhaps for *tripudiis*, as in C.,—a word which is used in the Vulg., Esth. viii. 16, to denote "dances" as a manifestation of joy,

And the four Animals full of eyes,
 With the four-and-twenty blessed elders,
 Casting their crowns under the feet of the Lamb of God,
 The Trinity is praised, with three eternal repetitions*.

CAPITULUM Z.

De uatione impiorum nolentes [sic] Christum credere, et de gaudio justorum, is the Title. But this is the Argument, what is said in the Apocalypse [read "in the Apostle"], *Terribilis ignis consumet adversarios* [Hebr. x. 27]. And elsewhere the Apostle^x says *Mansiones multe sunt apud Patrem*; and Christ says, *In domo Patris mei multe mansiones sunt* [John, xiv. 3].

The furious indignation of fire shall devour the adversaries, 135
 Who refuse to believe that Christ is come from God the Father,
 But we shall fly^y forthwith to meet Him,
 And so shall we be with Him in various orders of dignities
 According to the perpetual merits of our rewards,
 To remain in glory, for ever and ever^z. 140

At the end of the Hymn are two *Antiphons*, in the same metre as the Hymn itself, and probably coeval with it, or nearly so. The former of these, as the Preface tells us, is to be sung, in reciting the Hymn, after each Stanza or Capitulum; but no mention is made of the second. The former is therefore certainly older than this Preface; the latter probably more modern, although it is also evidently very ancient.

The former may be translated thus:—

Who can please God, in this last time?
 When the noted marks of truth are changed,
 Except the despisers of this present world.

The second Antiphon is an express invocation of the Trinity, and was probably intended to be used instead of the former, in order to meet the objection which had been made^a, that the author, in this Hymn, had not dwelt sufficiently on the praises of the Trinity. See the next Hymn.

"gaudium, honor, et tripudium." *Vernantibus* is rendered "singing." See Du Cange, in voc., who cites, in proof of this signification, a passage from the Life of St. Peter, afterwards Pope Celestine V. (Acta SS. tom. iv. Maii, p. 423); where the word is applied to the singing of angels, a great company of whom was seen by the Saint in vision: "et in ore cujusque illorum erant rosæ ruberæ, et cum illis rosæ vernabant dilectabiliter nimis; ita quod postquam excitatus fuisset a somno, cantum illum

audierit per tantum spatium, quo posset dici *Pater noster*."

^y *Repetitions*.—"Vices," changes, alluding to the "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus."—Apoc. iv. 8.

^x *The Apostle*.—See above, note, p. 218.

^y *We shall fly*.—This seems founded on 1 Thess. iv. 13-17.

^z *For ever and ever*.—The reading of C. is here adopted. See p. 219, note.

^a *Made*.—This objection is stated in the Preface

This second Antiphon may be thus translated :—

God the Father, unbegotten, Lord of heaven and earth,
And the Son, begotten of Him, before all worlds,
And the Holy Ghost, one, true, most High God,
I invoke; that He may give most ready help,
To me the least of all His servants,
Whom the Lord hath made one with the myriads of Angels^b.

NOTE D.

The Stanzas missing in the Dublin Copy of the Liber Hymnorum.

THE following are the Stanzas wanting in the Dublin MS. in consequence of the loss of one leaf, as already mentioned, p. 217, note on line 79. As the Editor has no access to any other copy of this Hymn except that printed by Colgan in the *Trias Thaumaturga*, and as that work is now very scarce, he has thought fit to preserve the missing stanzas here, although Colgan's text is full of inaccuracies and errors of the press, some of which will be corrected, wherever the correction is obvious and certain; and some other conjectural emendations will be suggested in the notes :—

TIT. De incolis infirmi, qui vel rubore flectunt in nomine Domini. ARGUMENTUM^c: ut in Apocalipsi; *Donavit illi nomen, quod est super omne nomen, &c.* Et ut in eadem, *Vidi librum in dextra sedentis super thronum, &c.*

Orbem infra, ut legimus^d, incolas esse novimus, 80
Quorum genu præcario^e frequenter flectit Domino,
Quibusque impossibile librum scriptum revolvere^f,
Obseignatus^g signaculis monitis,
Quem idem resignaverat, per quem victor extiterat,
Explens sui præagmina adventus prophetalia. 85

TIT. De Paradiso Adæ, id est, loco deliciarum. ARGUM.^h Ut in Genesi dicitur; *Plantaverat Paradi-*

(see p. 222), "And they said that there was no fault in the Hymn, except the scanty praise of the Trinity which it contained *per se*," &c.

^b *Angels*.—Perhaps alluding to Mark, xii. 25.

^c *Argumentum*.—The first passage here quoted as from the Apocalypse, is really from Phil. ii. 9, by a mistake that often occurs of "Apoc." for "Apostle." The second is from Apoc. v. 1.

^d *Ut legimus*.—Alluding to Phil. ii. 10; Apoc. v. 3, 13.

^e *Præcario*.—See above, p. 240, note.

^f *Revolvere*.—The Vulgate has "aperire librum." Sabatier does not mention the reading *revolvere*, which seems to be ancient, from its agreement with the original roll form of books.

^g *Obseignatus*.—See the conjectural emendation of this line already proposed, note, p. 240, *supra*.

^h *Argumentum*.—Colgan gives the first quotation from the Apocalypse thus: "Dabo ei manducare de ligno quinto," which is an obvious error of tran-

sem voluptatis a principio. Et in Apocalipsi: Dabo ei manducare de ligno quinto [leg. vitæ] quod est in paradiso Dei mei. Et alibi, Ex utraque parte fluminis lignum vitæ afferens duodecim fructus per singulos menses, et folia ligni in curationem gentium.

Plantatum a prohemio Paradisum a Domino
 Legimus in Primordio Genesis nobilissimo.
 Cujus ex fonte flumina quatuor sunt manantia,
 Cujus et¹ situm florido lignum vitæ est medio
 Cujus non cadunt folia² gentibus salutifera
 Cujus inenarrabiles³ delicias ac fertiles.

90

TR. De ascensione Moysis^m ad Dominum in monte Sinai. ARGUM. Quod in Lege dicitur, Moyses ascendit, et descendit^a gloria ejus super montem Sinai. Vel verior titulus est, De mirabilibus gloria adventus Domini in montem. ARGUMENTUM vero, Facta sunt tonitrua et voces, et fulgura, et terra motus.

Quis ad conductum Domini montem conscendit Sinai,
 Quis audivit tonitrua supra modum sonantia?
 Quis clangorem^o perstreperæ enormitatis buccinæ?
 Quis quoque vidit fulgura in gyro coruscantia?
 Quis lampades et jacula, saxaque collidentia?
 Præter Israelitici Moysen judicem populi?

95

TR. De die Judicii et nominibus ejus. ARGUM. Quod Sophonias dixit, Justa est dies Domini magnus, et veloc nimis; dies illa, dies ira, et furoris, et angustia; die calamitatis et miseria; dies tenebrarum et caliginis; dies nebulae et turbinis; dies tubæ et clangoris.

Regis regum rectissimi, prope est dies Domini;
 Dies iræ et vindictæ, tenebrarum et nebulae;
 Diesque mirabilium tonitruorum fortium;
 Dies quoque angustia, mororis ac tristitia;
 In quo cessabit mulierum amor et desiderium,
 Hominumque contentio, mundi hujus et cupido^p.

100

scription for "de ligno vitæ," *vitæ* having been probably mistaken for *eto*. *Manducare* is an ancient reading, for which the modern Vulgate has *edere*, Apoc. ii. 7. The "Commentary on the Apocalypse," printed with the works of St. Augustine, reads *manducare*. In the other passage of the Apocalypse referred to (xxii. 2), the modern Vulgate reads *sanitatem* for *curationem*, which last is the reading of the ante-Hieronymian version, and is so quoted by St. Hilary and St. Ambrose. See Sabatier, *in loco*.

¹ *Cujus et*.—Colgan has printed this line thus:

"Cujus et tua florido lignum vitæ est medio,"

but he corrects it as above in his *Errata*.

² *Folia*.—Colgan has *falia*, an obvious error of

the press, which he has corrected as above in his *Errata*.

³ *Inenarrabiles*.—See note, p. 240.

^m *Moysis*.—Colgan prints *Maysis*, which is evidently an error of the press.

^a *Descendit*.—Colgan puts a full stop after this word, which of course is also an error of the press.

^o *Quis clangorem*.—Colgan prints this line thus: "Quis clangorem derstremere ormitatis buccinæ," but he corrects it in his *Errata* as above: where *perstreperæ* seems to be an adjective agreeing with *buccinæ*, unless we should read *perstreperæ*. See above, p. 241, note.

^p *Cupido*.—The penultimate syllable is here short.

TIT. *De tremebunda presentia Dei in die judicii.* ARGUM. ut in secunda Epistola ad Corinthios, *Oportet nos omnes stare ante Tribunal Christi, ut referat unusquisque propria sui corporis prout gessit, sive bonum, sive malum.* Et ut in Evangelio dicitur, *Filius hominis venturus est in gloria sua, tunc reddet unicuique secundum opera sua.*

S tantes erimus¹ pavidī ante tribunal Domini;
Reddemusque de omnibus rationem effectibus²;
Videntes quoque posita ante obtutus crimina,
Librosque conscientiarū patefactos in facie,
In fletus amarissimos ac singultus erumpemus,
Subtracta necessaria operandi materia.

105

TIT. *De resurrectione prolis Ada.* ARGUM. Ut in Apocalypsi, *Ipse Dominus ut in jussu et voce Archangelī in tuba descendet de caelo.* Et iterum; *in diebus vocis septimi Angelī, cum aperit tuba canere, consummabitur mysterium Dei.*

T uba³ primi Archangelī strepente admirabilia,
Erumpent munitissima claustra ac poliandria,
Mundi presentis frigora hominum liquescentia,
Undique conglobantibus ad compagines ossibus,
Animabus ætherialibus eisdem obeuntibus,
Rursumque redeuntibus debitīs in mansionibus.

110

TIT. *De tribus syderibus⁴ thronos septem⁵ significantibus.* ARGUM. Ut in libro Job, *Qui fecit Orionem et interiora Austrī. Nunquid luciferum et vesperum in tempora certa constituisti.*

V agatur ex climatico⁶ Orion cœli cardine,
Derelicto Virgilio⁷ astrorum splendissimo,

¹ *Erimus.*—The penultimate is here apparently long.

² *Effectibus.*—Acts or deeds, as contradistinguished from thoughts or intentions.

³ *Erumpemus.*—The penultimate is here made short.

⁴ *Tuba.*—Alluding to 1 Thess. iv. 16, a passage which is quoted in the Scholium as if it was in the Apocalypse, by an error that repeatedly occurs. But Apoc. viii. 7, seems also to be referred to.

⁵ *De tribus syderibus.*—Sidus is properly a constellation consisting of several stars, "Sidera vero sunt stellis plurimis facta, ut Hyades, Pleiades" (Isidor. Hispal. *Etymol.* lib. iii. 60).

⁶ *Thronos septem.*—This is probably an allusion to St. Gregor. *Moral.* lib. ix. (in Job, ix. 9), "Quid namque Arcturi nomine, qui in cœli axe constitutus, septem stellarum radiis fulget, nisi Ecclesia univer-

salis exprimitur, quæ in Johannis Apocalypsi per septem Ecclesias, septemque candelabras figuratur?" Compare also the *Glossa Ordinaria*, in loc., which is founded on this passage of St. Gregory.

⁷ *Climatico.*—*Clima* is *inclinatio* (see Du Cange in voc.); and this line may possibly be rendered "Orion wanders from the inclined pole of heaven," meaning the North Pole, which appears in these latitudes above the horizon—"Cardines extremæ axis partes sunt."—Isid. Hispal. *De Natura rerum*, C. xii. n. 3 (Opp. *Roma*, 1803, tom. vii. p. 21).

⁸ *Virgilio.*—Usually written *Vergilia*, sometimes *Virgilia*, the constellation called the *Pleiades*; so called according to some (e.g. Voss. in *Etymol.*), "a virgula, quod virgulæ more porrigantur." But others derive the name from *ver*, as Festus, who says "Vergiliæ dictæ, quia earum ortu ver finitur, et æstas incipit." And so also Isid. Hispal. *De*

Per methas Tithis¹ ignoti Orientalis circuli
 Glans certis ambagibus redit pricis redditibus,
 Oriens post biennium, vesperugo² in vesperum,
 Sumpta in proplasmatis³ tropicis intellectibus.

120

TR. *De die judicii et præfulgente ligno crucis.* ARG. ut in Apocalipsi, *Abscondent se in speluncis et petris montium; et tunc dicent montibus, super nos cadite.* Et in Evangelio; *Statim post turbationem dierum illorum, sol obscurabitur, et luna non dabit lumen suum, et stellæ cadent de cælo.*

X to de cælis Domino descendente altissimo,
 Præfulgebit clarissimum signum crucis et vexillum
 Tactisque luminaribus duobus principalibus
 Cadent in terram sydera, ut fructus de ficulnea,
 Eritque mundi spatium, ut fornacis incendium,
 Tunc in montium specubus abscondent se exercitus.

125

NOTE E.

The Religious use of the "Altus"—Legend of Maelsuthain O' Cearbhaill.

THE Editor is indebted to his friend Professor Curry for permission to extract the following curious Legend from the interesting and valuable volume of Lectures on Irish History and Literature, which that gentleman is about to publish. There are very few allusions to the "Altus" in Irish history, and of these the greater part occur in the biographies of its author; the following singular Legend is the only allusion to

Naturæ rerum, c. xxvi. n. 6 (tom. vii. p. 39, edit. Areval. Romæ, 1803):—"Has [Pleiades] Latini vergilias appellaverunt, eo quod vere oriantur," &c. (Conf. Ejusd. *Etymol.* lib. iii. cap. lxxi. n. 13). St. Ambrose (*De interpellatione Job*, lib. i. c. iv. n. 11) quotes Job. ix. 9 from an ancient Latin version, thus: "Qui facit vergilias, et hesperum, et septemtrionem, et austri ministerium." The text of this Capitulum is so evidently corrupt, that until access can be had to the copy preserved at Rome, which is the only other MS. of the Hymn known to exist, it would be waste of time to attempt a translation.

¹ *Tithis*.—Perhaps we should read *Hyadis*, or *Hiadis*; *Hia* being pronounced as a monosyllable; unless "metas Tithis" be a corruption of the Greek

word *metastasis*, or *metathesis*, in the acc. plur.; the "metastases of the unknown eastern circle,"—which may signify the inverted or unseen portions of the eastern circle, viz., that part of it which was below the horizon. See Bede, *de Temporum ratione*, cap. 34, where the ancient theory which our author seems to have had in view is explained (ed. Giles, tom. vi. p. 214, seq.).

² *Vesperugo*.—An evening star.

³ *Proplasmatis*.—The Greek word, *πρόπλασμα*, signifies a clay model for the use of an artist; but this can scarcely be its meaning here. This last line, which seems quite unintelligible, is evidently corrupt; but, without the aid of another MS., correction is impossible.

the religious use of the Hymn which has come to the knowledge of the Editor. From this story it appears that the recitation of the Hymn was practised as a religious exercise, and that it was supposed to be efficacious in obtaining from the Almighty the recovery of the sick.

The Legend was extracted by Mr. Curry from the "*Liber Flavus Fergusorum*," a MS. in vellum, of the fifteenth century, in two volumes, quarto, now in the possession of James Marinus Kennedy, Esq., of 47, Gloucester-street, Dublin, by whom it was inherited from his ancestor, Dr. John Fergus, an eminent Irish scholar and antiquary, who was well known as a physician in Dublin at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

It will be necessary to give the reader some short account of Maelsuthain Ua Cearbhaill, or O'Carroll, to whom the following Legend relates. He was chieftain of the Eoghanacht Locha Léin, that is, of the descendants of Eoghan Mor, son of Oilliol Olum, who inhabited a district including Loch Léin, the present Lake of Killarney, in the barony of Magunihy, county of Kerry. He was a man of eminent learning, and is supposed to have collected the materials from which the Annals of Inisfallen (an island in the lower Lake of Killarney) were compiled^b. In the story which follows he is called *Cnmchapá*, or *Counsellor* of the celebrated Brian Boroimhe, King of Ireland, and, as Mr. Curry thinks, was probably the tutor or teacher of that monarch. The Book of Armagh^c, a MS. now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, contains a curious note in the handwriting of Maelsuthain Ua Cearbhaill, written about A.D. 1002, in the presence of King Brian Boroimhe, which the Editor of this work had the honour of exhibiting to her Majesty Queen Victoria, at her visit to the Great Dublin Exhibition of 1853.

At the close of his life Maelsuthain, as the Legend relates, devoted himself to penitential exercises, and appears to have become a monk in the religious establishment of this island of Inisfallen. His death is thus recorded by the Four Masters at the year 1009, the true date being 1010:—

Maelsuthain Ua Cearbhaill do muintir
Inis Faithlenn, prímhíre ianctair domhain
na amháin, 7 císheirna Eoghanaícta Locha Léin,
bécc.

Maelsuthain Ua Cearbhaill, of the family [i. e. religious community] of Inis Faithlenn, chief doctor of the western world in his time, and Lord of the Eoghanacht of Loch Léin, died.

^b *Compiled*.—See O'Reilly's Irish Writers (Transact. Ibero-Celtic Society), at the year 1009.

^c *Book of Armagh*.—This most remarkable MS. was purchased by His Grace the Lord Primate of Ireland, and presented to the Library of Trinity College in the year 1854. His Grace has subsequently

placed in the hands of the Rev. Dr. Reeves a sum of money sufficient to defray the expenses of the publication of the MS., and we may shortly expect to see it in print, with introductory matter and notes, under the able editorial skill of that accomplished scholar.

We may now give the Legend itself, with Mr. Curry's translation:—

Cúirar foglamnecg camcubap o cuinnirí do deanum leiginn binnraibí anmcapab bñiam mic Ceinneidigh .i. muiríubain huac Cearbhaill, deoganaoat loða léin, ar ba he eonairí ba fearr ina ainmíir he. Ir amlaib no babar in cúirar foglamnecgíir, i com-cruet, i combealba, i aenaimm forpno .i. boinnall an tainm. Ro babar imorppo cúir bliadna do foglaim occo. A cunn cúir bliadan a dubhrabap fñi noibí: irí ail linn, ar riab, bul copoici leupaleim irin cúir luda, gu po imoibíir ar copá cech conair no imig an tSlainicé a talam. A dubairt in eadibí: Ní nachair no gu pagbachai luach mo faeip [raetir] acumpra. A dubhrabap na dalcadib: Ní fñil acuinm, ar riab; ní do bepmuir buice, aot bemuid cúir bliadna aile ag oñulobí duice, maó ail leact. Ní h-ail, arre, aot beb cobpait mo bñeít fein dam, no den bap ne-argaine. Do bepm, oppiab, dia noibí acuinm. Ro nair forpno fo foircela in combeab, nachair, arre, in conair irí ail líb, i bíb mapí rió a naeimpeaoat ar an cúirar, i irí bñeacñ concim opuibí, can bul ar neaíir iap negaib buib, no co cúirad cuumpra ar búir dia mñir tam ce fab mo faegail, i co no mñirí an faigam cennra in comibí. Jeallmuibne buicirí an ní rin a huot an coimibí, arriab; no imirib [and] rin, i puorab beannactam leo o na noibí, i no pagpat beannactam aigi dñá. Ro rñpriet cech conair no cuilabap in tSlainicé do imicéat. Ranicabap dñá fo-deoib copuici leupaleim, i puarupbar bap aneimpeaoat ann, i no haónaiceab co nonoir moir iab in leupaleim. Tainic Mícel apc-amgeal o Dia apa cedñm. I dubhrabap rñm: ní pagum no go planairim in bñeacñ eugram pñia ar noibí fo foircela Cñpñt. Iachigib [read imchigib], ar me aingil, i mñirib do cúir bliadna co leirh aigi do faegail, i a bul in

* There came three students at one time from *Cuinnire** to receive education from the *Amchára* [soul-friend] of Brian MacCeinneidigh* that is, Maelsuthain Ua Cearbhaill, of the Eoganacht of Loch Lein, because he was the best sage of his time. These three students resembled each other in figure, in features, and in their name, which was Domnall. They remained three years learning with him. At the end of three years they said to their preceptor: "It is our desire," said they, "to go to Jerusalem, in the land of Judea, in order that our feet may tread every path which the Saviour trod on earth." The tutor answered: "You shall not go until you have left with me the reward of my labour." The pupils said: "We have not," said they, "anything that we could give thee, but we will remain three years more, to serve thee humbly, if thou desire it." "I do not wish that," said he, "but you shall grant me my own demand, or I will lay my curse upon you." "We will grant thee that," said they, "if we can." He then bound them by an oath on the Gospel of the Lord. "You shall go in the path that you desire," said he, "and you shall die all at the same time together, on the pilgrimage. And the demand I require from you is, that you go not to heaven after your deaths, until you have first visited me, to tell me the length of my life, and until you tell me whether I shall obtain the peace of the Lord." "We promise thee this," said they, "for the sake of the Lord;" and then they departed, and they took a blessing with them from their tutor, and they left him their blessing also. They walked in every path in which they had heard the Saviour had walked. They came at last to Jerusalem, and there they found their joint death, and were buried with great honour in Jerusalem. Then Michael the Archangel came from God for them. But they said: "We will not go, until we fulfil the promise we made to our preceptor, on the Gospel of Christ." "Go," said the angel, "and tell him that he has still three years and a half to

* *Cuinnire*.—The ancient church from which the diocese of Connor, in Ulster, is now named.

* *Brian Mac Ceinneidigh*.—Brian, son of Cenneidigh, or Kennedy: the celebrated Brian Boromha.

ipponn co b'pach, iap'p'n be'pup an b'p'eath
allo b'p'acha p'ap'n.

Indur buinn, ap' p'ad, oib ma cup'car in ip-
ponn é. Ap' ep'i p'athuib, ap' in t'aingil, .i. ap'a
meb co'p'p'oef an o'anoim, agur a meb do
ih'nau' p'p'urib coim'p'o'eann, agur ap' ep'e'gab
an altu'p'a.

I'p'e'mo'p'p'o p'ac' ap' ap' ep'e'ig'p'ium an calcu'p'
.i. mac ma'it p'oba'eib ac'om [read ecco] .i.
maelpat'p'ao a'aim. Ro'p'gab galu'p' ba'p' in
mac. Ro'gab an altu'p' p'o' p'ea'ot ma' t'mcill
ap' ba'it co'nabba'ot ma'p' in mac. N'p' cap-
ba'it bo'it'p'ium p'p'n, uap' ba' ma'p' in mac p'a
ce'bo'p'. Ibubai'p't Maelpu'tain na'oh ge'ba'ot
altu'p' ep'e' b'it'u'm o' na'ot p'aca'it anoi'p' ao
Dia p'ap'n. 7 n'p' be'ap'ano'p' tuc Dia bon Al-
tu'p' gan p'lainti b'ia'ot mac p'an, a'ot p'ap'n
lei'p' in mac do be'it' e'bo'p' mu'nn'tu'p' ne'it'he na
e'bo'p' mu'nn'tu'p' calman. p'o' ba'ot Maelpu-
t'ain p'ea'ot mb'ia'ot'na cen altu'p' do' p'oba'it.
Iap'p'n t'angaba'p' a' ep'iup' ba'it'ot do' agal-
uib Maelpu'tain ip'e'ct'ot'ep' ep'i colum n'ge'al,
7 p'ap'n'p'am p'ail'et' p'p'iu. Inno'p'it ba'it' ce' p'ab
mo' p'ae'ga'it, 7 an p'ab'uim p'o'p'p'u'ic'i. Ac'at, ap'
p'ia'ot'p'om, ep'i b'ia'ot'na do' p'ae'gul ac'ub, 7 do
bul a' n'up'p'onn co'b'p'ach iap'p'iu. C'ib ima' mbe-
imn a' n'up'p'onn, ap' ep'iup'. ap' ep'i p'atha'it, ap'
p'ia'ot'p'um, 7 p'o' inno'p'ida'p' na' ep'i p'ac'a a' du-
b'p'umap' p'om'u'inn. Ni ba' p'p'm mo' bul'p'a an
ip'p'onn, ap' p'e, uap' na' ep'i hui'lo p'p'n, ap'p'e,
ata'it o'co'm'p'a aniu, n'p' b'ia'ot o'co'm'p'a aniu, n'p'
b'ia'ot o'co'm'p'a op'unn amach, 7 ep'e'ig'p'ea'ot'p'a na
hui'lo p'p'n, 7 lo'p'p'ait Dia' b'am iab, amail p'o'
ge'all p'e'it an t'an a' dubai'p't: "im'p'iet'ep' im-
p'p'i in quacumque h'ona co'nue'p'p'ur p'ue'p'it
non noce'bit ei." Ni b'e'n b'na, ci'all uaim p'e'im
p'p'iu can'o'it' [a'ot] amail no' ge'it' i'p'na leo-
b'p'uib dia'ot'uib. Ge'ba'ot b'na o'eb p'le'ot'cain

live, and that he goes to hell for ever, after the sen-
tence is passed upon him on the day of judgment."

"Tell us," said they, "why he is sent to hell."
"For three causes," said the angel, "viz., because
of how much he interpolates the canon"; and be-
cause of the number of women with whom he has
lain; and for having abandoned the *Altus*."

The reason why he abandoned the *Altus* was this:
He had a good son, whose name was Maelpat-
rick. This son was seized with a mortal sickness,
and the *Altus* was sung seven times around him, that
the son should not die. This was, however, of no avail
for them, as the son died forthwith. Maelsuthain
then said that he would never again sing the *Altus*,
as he did not see that God honoured it. But it was
not in dishonour of the *Altus* that God did not re-
store his son to health, but because He chose that the
youth should be among the family of heaven, rather
than among the people of earth. Maelsuthain had
then been seven years without singing the *Altus*.
After this his three pupils came to talk to Maelsu-
thain, in the forms of three white doves, and
he bade them welcome. "Tell me" [said he]
"what shall be the length of my life, and if I shall
receive the heavenly reward." "Thou hast," said
they, "three years to live, and thou goest to hell for
ever then." "What should I go to hell for?" said
he. "For three causes," said they; and they re-
lated to him the three causes that we have already
mentioned. "It is not true that I shall go to hell,"
said he, "for those three vices that are mine this day,
shall not be mine even this day, nor shall they be
mine from this time forth, and I will abandon these
vices, and God will forgive me for them, as He Him-
self hath promised, when He said: 'Impietas impii
in quacumque hora conversus fuerit non nocebit
ei' [Ezek. xxxiii., 12]. I will put no sense of my
own into the canon, but such as I shall find in the

¹ *The Canon*.—This apparently signifies the code
of ecclesiastical laws, which Maelsuthain was called
upon to administer as chieftain of his tribe, and which
he had probably often interpreted so as to suit his
own secular interests or inclinations: for he after-

wards in this narrative is made to promise, "I will
put no sense of my own into the Canon, but such as
I shall find in the divine books." But the word *Ca-
non* is used also to signify the Old or New Testament.
See Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 359, note c.

cech lai. Seacht mbliadhna actura gen Altur do gabail, 7 gebad in cAltur po reacht ced noisid cen beb beo, 7 bo den tpeginur cedá reachtmume. Denaid ri dno todt docum neithe, ar pe, 7 tigi allo ineirdeacta dinnuifin pcel bairh. Tiocfamuib, ar riab, 7 bo cuabap a tpiur pon cuaparebail cedna, 7 po beannachtad bo, 7 po beannad ruih baib ruih. Ilo an eirdeacta tangubap a tpiur pon cuaparebail cedna, 7 po beannachachu 7 beannacha) cach da deile uib, 7 po fparpauib uib: in inann mo beactara mbu ac Dia 7 an la eile tangabuip dom agalluib. Ni hinann umorpo, apriab, uap bo ceapbenab buinne timadpa ar neirh, 7 ip leop linnu a feabur. Tangamapne anu, amail po geallamapne, ap bo ceannpa, 7 cap linn ap amur an maib rin, co pobuip i fparpacur De 7 an aencaib na tpiu-noib, 7 muinnuip neithe, co bpat na mbreath.

Ip annuip no timoib facap [pacapne] 7 cleipid imda cuigi, 7 po hongab he, 7 ni po fgarpar a balcaib fpiur no gu ndeabap bo cum neithe. 7 ippe ropeptua [ropeptua] in fpiur mach rin ata in innuip fapclenn ipu eclap por. Fint.

Another brief allusion to the *Altus* occurs in the *Mesca*, or "Intoxication," of St. Columcille, a pretended prophecy attributed to that saint, and said to have been written a week before his death. At the conclusion of this forgery (which was probably composed in the seventeenth century), St. Columcille is made to say that he leaves the *Altus*, with some other of his compositions, as a legacy to the men of Ireland^b.

^a *Screptra*.—This word appears to be a corruption of *Scriptura*; but whether it signifies here a single work, or a collection of MSS., Mr. Curry professes himself unable to determine. The Four Masters mention the burning of Armagh, A. D. 1020, in which the only house that escaped was the Teach ropeptua, "Domus Scripturarum," the Bibliotheca or Library (as Colgan, and O'Donovan, translate it), but which was more probably the *Scriptorium*, i. e. the house or apartment in which books were written. See Maitland, *Dark Ages*, p. 406, sq. But at the date 1417 (p. 829), the Four

divine books. I will perform an hundred genuflections every day. Seven years have I been without singing the *Altus*, and now I will sing the *Altus* seven times every night while I live; and I will keep a three days' fast every week. Go you now to heaven," said he, "and come on the day of my death to tell me the result." "We will come," said they; and the three of them departed as they came, first leaving a blessing with him, and receiving a blessing from him. On the day of his death the three came in the same forms, and they saluted him, and he returned their salutation, and said to them: "Is my life the same before God that it was on the former day that ye came to talk to me?" "It is not, indeed, the same," said they, "for we were shown thy place in heaven, and we are satisfied with its goodness. We have come, as we promised, for thee, and come now with us to the place which is prepared for thee in the presence of God, and in the unity of the Trinity, and of the hosts of heaven, until the judgment of judgments."

There then assembled about him many priests and ecclesiastics, and he was anointed, and his pupils parted not from him until they all went to heaven together. And it is this good man's writings ["screptas"] that are in Inisfallen, in the church, still.

Masters record the burning of the Church of Inis Mor [now Church Island] in Loch Gill, near Sligo, in which the "Screaptra Uí Chuirnín," or MSS. of O'Cuirnín, and the "Leabhar Gearr" [short book] of the same family, were burned. See Dr. O'Donovan's notes on this passage.

^b *Ireland*.—See this passage quoted by Dr. Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. lxxx., where, however, in the third line, for ag riog an epca, read mo mheapga, and translate "My *Amhra*, my *Mesca*, pure, bright." For a further account of the *Mesca*, see Prof. Curry's *Lectures*, p. 406, sq.

XV. THE HYMN OF ST. COLUMBA, "IN TE CHRISTE."

THE following Hymn was first printed by Colgan, probably from the MS. now preserved at St. Isidore's College in Rome. Colgan's text is the only copy of the Hymn to which the Editor has access for collation with the Dublin MS.; and is referred to in the notes by the letter C. It is the more to be regretted that we have not access to the Isidorian MS., because the Irish Preface is in many places illegible, and the preface, as published by Colgan, is either a mere abridgment of his original, or must have been translated from a different text.

Colgan's version of the Preface¹ is as follows:—

"*In te Christe, &c.* S. Columba composuit hunc hymnum cursivo rythmo. Et causa fuit, quod parce disseruerit de sacro-sancta Trinitate in Hymno præcedenti, quem alioquin optimum pronuntiavit S. Gregorius Papa."

The following is a translation of all that is now legible of the Irish Preface in the Dublin MS. of the *Liber Hymnorum*:—

"*In te Christe.* Columcille made this Hymn. He made it in rhythm: sixteen syllables in each line: but some say that it was not Columcille at all that composed it, [except] from the words "Christus Redemptor," to [the words] "Christus crucem," and that is the reason why many repeat that part *only*. The place² was Hy; the time, that of Aedh son of Ainmire; the cause was, when he sent [messengers to Rome] with the Altus, Gregory found fault with Columcille, because he had put into it [too scanty praise of the Trinity]."

In this translation the Editor has supplied within brackets, by conjecture, what appears to have been the sense of the matter contained in the passages now illegible; guided by the account of the occasion upon which this Hymn

¹ *Preface*.—Trias Thaum., p. 475.

Hymn was composed. See above, p. 220,

² *The place*.—That is, the place where the and notes.

was composed, as told in the Preface to the *Altus*. It will be observed, however, that the censure said to have been passed by Pope Gregory upon the *Altus* is differently expressed in the three versions of its Preface, which have been already given at length¹. In the version given in our Dublin MS., the censure is put into the mouth of St. Columba's messenger (which is most probably a mistake of transcription in the MS.), but the censure itself is thus expressed,—“that there was no fault in the Hymn except the scanty praise of the Trinity which it contained *per se*; although He [the Trinity] was praised in His creatures”². In the *Leabhar Breacc* Pope Gregory is represented as stating his objection thus³, “minus quam debuit Deus memorari in eo memoratus est.” But the Preface in Colgan's MS., or at least Colgan's translation of it, suggests a somewhat different sense; for Gregory, he says, “opusculum magnopere laudavit, solumque illud sibi in eo displicere dixit, quod author parcius in eo de Trinitate *disseruerit*, quam optaret”⁴. And again, in his version of the Preface to the Hymn now before us, he uses the same word, “quod parce *disseruerit* de sacrosancta Trinitate;” as if the objection was that the Hymn did not contain a sufficiently explicit declaration or exposition of the *doctrine* of the Trinity. But the meaning evidently is, that the author of the *Altus* did not celebrate *directly* the praises of the Almighty as such, but only His praises “in His creatures;” and the word *Trinity* is evidently used as equivalent to *Deus*, or the Deity, without any reference to the author's orthodoxy, or to his opinions on the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, which were not disputed.

It is remarkable that Colgan's version of the Preface to the following Hymn omits all notice of the curious statement made in the Irish Preface, now for the first time printed, that some doubted⁵ its genuineness, and that *many* were in the habit of reciting only lines 17–22 (or perhaps the meaning may be lines 17–25), as believing that portion of the Hymn only to be the genuine composition of St. Columcille.

In connexion with this doubt, it is remarkable that the Hymn plainly divides itself into two parts, the first of which ends (at line 16) with a doxology, exactly at the place where the genuine composition of St. Columba is said to begin,

¹ *At length*.—See Note A to the *Altus*, p.

debuit memorari.”

220, sq.

⁴ *Optaret*.—See p. 227.

² *Creatures*.—See p. 222.

⁵ *Doubted*.—The early record of such a

³ *Thus*.—*Supra*, p. 224. The construction is “In eo memoratus est Deus, minus quam

doubt is a curious evidence of the antiquity of the Hymn.

and thus may seem to have been a distinct composition in itself. There is also this peculiarity, tending to the same conclusion, that in this first part the lines (with three exceptions) begin with the word *Deus*; whilst in the remainder of the Hymn every line (one excepted) begins with the word *Christus*.

Be this, however, as it may, it does not at first sight seem very clear how the Hymn can have been understood to have supplied the defect of the *Altus*, "*quod parcius de Trinitate disseruerit*;" for, with the exception of the Doxologies (lines 15, 16, and 26-29), there is no allusion in it to the Trinity as such, neither is there in it anything more express or distinct, considered as a confession of faith in the *doctrine* of the Trinity, than that contained in the first "*Capitulum*" of the *Altus*.

But we have seen that the objection to the *Altus* was, not that the author of the Hymn was unsound in faith, or in any way heterodox on the *doctrine* of the Trinity, but that in his Hymn he had not made the praise of the Trinity, i. e. of God Almighty, sufficiently prominent or direct; in other words, the real fault was, not that the *doctrine* of the Trinity was insufficiently acknowledged, but that the Hymn was mainly occupied in the praise of created things, or of God as Creator, and not so much in the direct praise of God in His essence and attributes.

In this point of view, the Hymn *In Te Christe* fully supplies the defect. It commences by a prayer to Christ, as God, to have mercy on all the faithful. It prays to God to make haste to help all those who are in labour or distress. And then it proceeds to praise God, as the Father of the faithful; the Life of the living; the God of all gods; the Virtue of all virtues; the Creator of all things; the Judge of judges; the Prince of princes; the God of the elements; the God of good help; the God of the heavenly Jerusalem; the King of glory; the God of the quick; the God of eternal light; the ineffable God; the High God, worthy of all love, inestimable, bountiful, long suffering, teacher of the teachable; the God who maketh all things, whether new or old.

With this supplement to the *Altus*, it could not possibly have been objected that there was in it "a scanty praise of the Trinity *per se*," that is, of God Almighty as such.

The Hymn then takes up the praise of Christ:—He is the Redeemer of the Gentiles; the Lover of virgins; the Fountain of the wise; the Faith of believers; the Breastplate of soldiers; the Creator of all things; the Health of the living; the Life of the dying: He hath crowned our army with a crowd

of Martyrs; He hath ascended the cross; He hath saved the world; He hath redeemed us, and suffered for us; He hath descended into hell; He hath ascended into heaven; He hath sat down with God (*ubi nunquam defuerat*) on that throne which, as God, He had never left.

This summary of the Hymn strongly confirms the opinion already expressed, that the defect which it was supposed to supply in the *Altus* was not a theological defect in the confession of Trinitarian doctrine, but a deficiency in the *direct* praise of God and of Christ.

The language of the Hymn is evidently ancient. Among its peculiarities may be noted the use of the pluperfect for the perfect; "Christus crucem ascenderat;" "mundum salvaverat;" "nos redemerat;" "cælum ascenderat." "Cum Deo sederat, ubi nunquam defuerat." This peculiarity will be observed also in the writings of Adamnan.



IN TE CHRISTE. Columcille doinnai innimmonra. The pichim doinnai, re pillaba
 dec in cech line. Acberat u° papien conach e Columcille etir doinnai [r] oca
 Chripcur pedemptor 7 chripcur crucem, 7 ip aipe ima acberat multu illam
 partem. Locur hi, tempur Aeda meic ainmirech. Caura apala at po
 nab con altur, 7 ipre on poimchrech Dregoir im Columcille opo
 chup



te christe credentium miserearis omnium
 tu es deus in secula seculorum in gloria

deus in adiutorium intende laborantium
 ad dolorum remedium festina in auxilium

deus pater credentium deus uita uiuentium
 deus deorum omnium deus uirtus uirtutum

deus formator omnium deus et iudex iudicum
 deus et princeps principum elementorum omnium

deus opis eximiae celestis hierusolimae
 deus rex regni in gloria deus ipse uiuentium

deus aeterni luminis deus inenarrabilis
 deus altus amabilis deus inestimabilis

1. *In te Christo*.—This Hymn has no gloss, except over the word *eximiae* (ver. 9), where the gloss, although nearly illegible, appears to be .i. *excelra*.

3. *Laborantium*.—Are these words alluded to in the preface to the *Altus*? see above, p. 221, note ^a.

6. *Virtutum*.—This anomaly is neces-

sary for the metre. C. reads, "Deus virtutis virtutum."

7. *Et iudex*.—C. omits *et* here and in the next line. But in both, *et* is necessary to the metre.

8. *Hierusolimae*.—Ierosolymæ, C.

11. *Inenarrabilis*.—This word is also used, line 91 of the preceding hymn.

Deus largus longanimis deus doctor docibilis
deus qui pacit omnia noua cuncta et uetera

Dei patris in nomine filique sui prospere
sancti spiritus utique recto uado itenere. 15

Christus redemptor gentium christus amator uirginum
christus pons sapientium christus fides credentium

Christus lorica militum christus creator omnium
christus salus uiuentium et uita morientium 20

Coronauit exercitum nostrum cum turba martirum
christus crucem ascenderat christus mundum saluaue-
rat

Christus et nos redemeret christus pro nobis passus est
christus infernum penetrat christus caelum ascenderat

Christus cum deo seberat ubi nunquam depuerat 25

Gloria haec est altissimo deo patri ingenito
honor ac summo filio unico unigenito.

Spirituique optimo sancto perfecto seculo
amen fiat perpetua in sempiterna secula.

IN TE XPE CRE.

13. *Doctor docibilis*.—Teacher of the teachable man.

15. *Filius*.—Filiius, C.

16. *Itinere*.—Itinere, C. "I walk in the right way of God the Father, &c."

23. *Redemeret*.—Redemerat, C.

24. *Christus infernum*.—C. omits this line.

28. *Optimo*.—Optimo, C. *Seculo*.—Amen, C.

29. *Perpetua*.—C. reads, "fiat et hæc perpetua, in sempiterna secula." At the end are added the words with which the hymn begins, according to the usual custom of Irish scribes, to show that the hymn ends here, and that the words that follow are no part of it. See above, p. 23, n., and see also p. 80, where the entire of the first verse of a Hymn is repeated at the end.

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XVI. THE HYMN OF ST. COLUMBA, "NOLI PATER."

COLGAN has printed two copies of this Hymn: the one in his Abridgment of O'Donnell's Life of Columba¹, the other from his copy of the Book of Hymns². The former of these seems to be an extract only, as it ends with "&c.," and omits the last two quatrains, besides other variations which will be pointed out in the notes. The latter copy Colgan himself describes as "paulo correctiorem, tametsi non plene correctum"³, which implies he did not consider his copy of the Book of Hymns as perfectly accurate, although "antiqua manu descriptus." How far the present edition is an improvement on the two former, will appear from the following pages.

The account given by O'Donnell of the occasion upon which this Hymn was composed is evidently taken from the Preface to it in the Book of Hymns; both accounts are substantially the same. The Editor will not enter into any discussion of the difficulty, which this narrative has suggested, as to the date of the donation of Daire Calcaigh (now Londonderry) to St. Columba by Aedh, son of Ainmire. This subject has been examined by Dr. Reeves, and the supposed difficulty completely removed⁴; it will, therefore, only be necessary to give here a translation of the Preface, with some illustrative notes:—

Noli Pater. Columcille composed this Hymn, as he did the *In Te Christe*. The place was the door of Disert Daire Chalcaigh⁵. The time was the same⁶, viz., that of Aedh, son of Ainmire. The cause was this:—Once upon a time Columcille came to Daire to a conference⁷

¹ *Columba*.—Trias. Thaum., p. 397.

² *Hymns*.—Ibid., p. 476.

³ *Correctum*.—Ibid., p. 450, note 47.

⁴ *Removed*.—Reeves, Adamnan, pp. 160, 161, note.

⁵ *Disert Daire Chalcaigh*.—For the nature

of the monastic establishments, called *Deserts*, see Reeves, Adamnan, p. 366.

⁶ *The same*.—i. e. the same as that in which the Hymn *In te Christe* was composed.

⁷ *Conference*.—"Aliquando venit ad colloquium [i. e. colloquium] regis."

with the king, so that he [the king] granted him the fort, with its appurtenances. But Columcille refused the fort, because Mobi¹ had prohibited him to receive anything of the world, until he had heard of his [Mobi's] death. But when Columcille afterwards came to the gate of the town², three³ of the people of Mobi met him there, and they had Mobi's girdle with them, and they said, "Mobi is dead." And Columcille said:

Mobi's girdle! [Mobi's girdle]!
It closed not upon emptiness,
Moreover, it opened not upon satiety,
Nor did it shut upon falsehood.

Columcille went back to the king, and he said to the king, "The offering which thou gavest to me yesterday, give to me now." "I will give it," said the king. The town was then burned,

¹ *Mobi*.—i. e. St. Mobi Clairenech, or the flat-faced, otherwise called Berchan, abbot of Glas-naoidhen (now Glamevin, near Dublin), who was for a time the tutor of St. Columba (*O'Donnell*, lib. i., c. 43, *Trias Thaum.*, p. 396). Mobi having been compelled to close his school in consequence of the breaking out of a pestilence, S. Columba, with the other scholars, was sent away, and took his journey towards Tirconnell, having first received from Mobi this injunction, "Ne quam terram aut fundum pro exedificando monasterio aut aliis usibus acceptaret, nisi de ipsius scitu et venia."—*O'Donnell*, ib., c. 46. Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 160. The ancient quatrain quoted above, in praise of Mobi's girdle, occurs in a poem entitled, *Itinerarium na parrige o columcille in onor cneca Mobi*. "Itinerarium of the sea [i. e. verses to be recited on a journey on the sea], from Columkille, in honour of Mobi's girdle." An imperfect copy of this poem is preserved in the O'Clery MS. of Martyrologies, in the Burgundian Library, Brussels. The stanza with which we are concerned is given thus:—

Agro cnor Mobi,
nir bo reimm mlo
nir norglad fpi rat
'rnp maob fpi go.

"This is Mobi's girdle: it was not a bulrush round emptiness; it was not opened upon satiety, and it was not shut upon falsehood. In the Martyrology of Donegal, at Oct. 12, the stanza is given thus:—

Cnir Mobi [cnir Mobi]
mldar rdbne mlo
nir norlaiccoo nra rat
nir maob mgo.

which differs from the former chiefly in spelling. The great difficulty is in the word *lua* or *lo*; in addition to the meaning given to it above, which seems to correspond best with the next line, it is interpreted in ancient glossaries .i. *uirce*, *water*; and .i. *bpat* *berg*, *a red cloak*. In the same glossaries, *go* or *gua* is explained *breg*, *a lie, falsehood*.

² *Town*.—*bale*, "of the bally." The word does not mean what we would now call a *town*. "Town" is commonly used to this day in every part of Ireland, even by those who only speak English, to denote a place, a farm, a gentleman's demesne or property. There was no *town* (properly so called) at Derry, in St. Columba's time, but only a *dún*, or fort, the residence of a chieftain.

³ *Three*.—*O'Donnell* (*loc. cit.*, c. 48) says two. And so also the ancient Irish Life, quoted by Dr. Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 160, note.

with everything that was in it. "This is foolish," said the king, "for if it were not burnt, there would never have been any lack of raiment or food therein." "There never shall be," said he [Columcille]; "from henceforth, whoever shall be in it, shall never be a night fasting." The fire, however, in consequence of its greatness, threatened to burn the whole Daire⁴, so that it was to save it, at that time, that this Hymn was composed. Or it was the Day of Judgment he had in view; or the fire of the festival of John⁵. And it is sung [*as a protection*] against every fire, and every thunder-storm, from that time forth; and whosoever sings it at bed time, and at rising, it protects him against lightning, and it protects the nine⁶ persons whom he desires [to protect]."

Colgan's version of the Preface is as follows :—

Noli pater indulgere. S. Columba Kille composuit hunc Hymnum stylo rythmico ex tempore. In Daire Chalgach, seu Monasterio Dorensi, compositus fuit. Quidam dicunt, quod præ tremendi et extremi Judicii timore illum composuerit. Alii vero dicunt quod quando locum fundandi Monasterii, ab Aido Ainmirii filio, Hiberniæ Rege donatum, receperat, tanquam prophanum curaverat flammis absumi, ut sic Deo consecraretur; et cum incendii flamma per amœnum vicinum lucum, seu arboretum, depascendum vento et tonitruis perlata pertingeret, hinc Hymnum hunc composuerit, ad lucum illum ab incendii flammis præservandum. Duo privilegia recitantibus illum, pie creduntur a Domino concessa. Primum, quod præservet recitantes a fulminibus et tonitruis. Secundum, quod eos, qui consuescunt illum recitare vespere, dum decumbunt, et mane quando surgunt, ab omni adversu casu protegat.

In the notes to the following Hymn, the various readings of the copy of it published in Colgan's version of O'Donnell's Life of St. Columba will be marked O'D.; and those of the copy printed by Colgan from his MS. of the Liber Hymnorum will be distinguished by the letter C.

⁴ *Daire*.—i. e. the whole wood; *Daire* is an oak wood. See Reeves' Adamnan, p. 19, note^a, and p. 160, note.

⁵ *John*.—This is an allusion to the ancient custom of lighting fires on St. John's Eve. Paciaudius, in his learned work, *De cultu S. Johannis Baptiste*, Romæ, 1755, 4^o, labours to defend this custom from the charge of a pagan origin, and derives it from our Lord's words (John, v. 35): "Ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens: vos autem voluistis ad horam exultare in luce ejus." But the Capitula of Charlemagne (lib. v., tit. 2) condemn the St. John's Eve fires as remnants of paganism, under the old German term of *nodfeuers*.

Pertz, iii. 17, and compare Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, vol. i., p. 570, sq. (2^d edit.: Göttingen, 1844).

⁶ *The nine*.—This is obscure; a word at the end having been cut off by the binder. The meaning seems to be that the recitation of the Hymn will protect not only him who sings it, but any other nine persons whom he may desire so to serve. Colgan loosely renders the clause, "ab omni adverso casu protegat;" he probably took ἀντί to signify "persecution," but it seems to be a verb, and occurs *supra* p. 205, line 12. Ἀντί occurs also as an adjective, meaning *nequam*.—*Zeuss*, p. 247, line 17.



NOLÍ PATER. Columcille peoic hunc cmmum; eodem modo ut In te Xpe. Locur do-
nur díríre daíri chalcais. Tempus autem .i. Aeda meic ammenech. Caura, co-
lumeille aliquando uenit ab collocium pegir co daíre co roebppad in port do
conairliud. Opair iarum columcille in port, quia pphibuit mobi imme accerpe
mundum co clorad a éc.

Intan iarum canic columcille co donur in bale, ir ann rin dopala epíar do munoir
mobí dó, q epíar mobí occu, q díxerunt, moíreup epí mobí; q díxir columcille:

Cpíar mobí [cpíar mobí]
ní po iabad imlúa
rech ní po oílaiceb pía páich
ní pobunab imgúa.

Luid columcille poredú corin ríe, q díxir pegí: Inn ebpáire eucáiru damra imbuaíue[h]
tuo dam nuno. Dobepchar, ap in pí. Loíretheí epí in baile coroneoch baí and
uile. Eppach rin, ol in pí, ap maní loírethe, ní biad caoha bpoic na bíd ann co
bpach. díad imorpo ann o íeín immaíh, ap íe, iní bíar ann ní bíá díbch [íe. afbch]
epírethe. Tapmaíre epí in tene apa met loíreud in daíre uile, conib apa and-
oul in can rin dopónab inatmonra; no ír lache bpacha dopac díá aíre; no tene
peile eoin, q canaíre píí cech tenib q píí cech copann o íeín ille, oípe gabar po
líge q poeíge, no nanaíe ap chenib ígellan q angib in nonbup ír aíl [doanaol] . . .



POLÍ pater indulgere tonitrua cum pulgure
ac frangamur formidine huius atque uridine

Te timemus terribilem nullum credentes similem
te cuncta canunt carmina angelorum per ag-
mina

GLOSS.—1. *Indulgere*.—i. nos. 2. *Huius*.—i. tonitruí. *Uridine*.—i. o eplorcub no a bumb-
chuip [from burning or from the yellow pestilence]. 3. *Similem*.—i. Deo. 4. *Canunt*.—i. laudant.

1. *Indulgere*.—Here used in the sense
of *permit* or *suffer*. It is doubtful whe-
ther the gloss over this word is not “in
nos,” or “super nos,” which would
make better sense than *nos*. “Suffer

not the thunder and lightning to fall
upon us.”

2. *Ac*.—Ne, O'D. and C. *Uridine*.—
Uredine, C.; O'D. reads *Viredine*, which
only can be the Irish spelling of *Uredine*,

Tequē exultent cūlmina caeli uagī per fulmina
o ihesu amantissime o rex regū rectissime

5

benedictus in secula recta regens regimina
iohannes coram domino adhuc matris in utero

Repletus dei grātia pro uino atque siccera

elizabeth et zacharias uirum magnum genuit
iohannem baptizam precursorem domini

10

manet in meo corde dei amoris flamma
ut in argenti uase auri ponitur gemma.

Gloss.—5. *Exultent*.—i. paltugit [welcome]. 7. *Benedictus*.—i. es. 8. *Johannes*.—i. gratia Dei interpretatur. 9. *Repletus*.—i. est. *Siccera*.—i. sine cera. .i. non omni liquori ebrio excep omnis liquor dulcis sic. . . .

viz., uipebime; the u suffering what German philologists call *umlaut*, from the e of the following syllable.—*Zeuss. Gram. Celt.*, p. 18; *Ebel, Beiträge*, i. 164. There is no such word as *Viredo*.

4. *Cuncta*.—Juxta, O'D.

5. *Exultent*.—Exaltent, O'D. C. *Fulmina*.—Fulmina, C.

8. *Matris in*.—In Matris, O'D.

9. *Siccera*.—Sicera, O'D. C. O'Donnell's extract ends here. See Colgan;

Trias Thaum., p. 397. The gloss upon this word runs out into the margin of the page, and is partly illegible.

10. *Zacharias*.—Elizabeth Zachariæ, C.

11. *Baptizam*.—Baptistam, C. The use of *z* for *st* in our MS. has already been noticed. See above, p. 78, n. 31.

13. *Argenti*.—Argenteo, C. *Auri*.—Aurea, C. These readings are inconsistent with the metre.

XVII. THE PRAYER OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST.

THE following document is called “epistola” in one place, and “ymnus” in another, by the author of the Scholium or Preface; but it is really a prayer; and is said to have been uttered by St. John the Evangelist over the poisoned cup, offered to him by the heathen priest of Ephesus.

The Legend in which this prayer occurs, and which is given at length in the Preface, has appeared in two several works, both putting forth pretensions to great antiquity, although now universally admitted to be spurious, viz.: the *Acta Apostolorum, sive Historia certaminis Apostolici*, attributed to Abdias, first Bishop of Babylon; and the *Passio S. Johannis Evangelistæ*, ascribed to Mellitus, Bishop of Laodicea, or rather of Sardes.

The impostor who was the author of the former of these works calls himself a disciple of the Apostles, and professes to have been ordained first Bishop of Babylon by the Apostles themselves. He tells us also that he composed the work in the Hebrew language: that it was afterwards translated into Greek by his own disciple, Eutropius, and into Latin by Julius Africanus: “quæ Africanus Historiographus in Latinam transtulit linguam”¹. These are the words of the author himself, who, whilst he pretends to have been a contemporary of the apostles, has made the singular blunder of attributing the translation of his work into Latin, to Africanus, a writer of the *third century*!

¹ *Linguam*.—Apost. Hist., lib. 6, fol. 83 (ed. by John Faber). Paris, 1571; 8°. And see the note of Fabricius on this passage.—*Cod. Apocr. N. Test.* II., p. 389, 629.

² *Third century*.—There are internal evidences that Latin was the original language of the book, and that the assertion of its having

been first written in Hebrew was a deliberate falsehood: for example, such plays upon words as “In nomine Domini mei JESU impetram non imperabam” (lib. ix. c. 21); “non everti, sed converti eam” (lib. viii. c. 8), could scarcely have been the language of a translator.

But it is unnecessary for the object of the Editor to discuss the question of the genuineness of a work, whose pretensions have now no defenders¹. Its author cannot have lived before the fifth century; he has uniformly quoted the modern Vulgate, and appears to have also used the Latin version of the writings of Eusebius². There is good reason to believe, however, that the Venerable Bede had seen these "Acts of the Apostles," for he seems to refer to them under the title of "Histories of the Passions of the Apostles." If so, it will follow that the Pseudo-Abdias cannot have lived *later* than the beginning of the eighth century. The passage in the writings of Bede referred to is the following:—"Hos [Simonem scil. Zelotem, et Judam Jacobi] referunt Historiæ in quibus apostolorum passiones continentur, et a plurimis deputantur apocryphæ, prædicasse in Perside, ibique a templorum pontificibus in civitate Suanir occisos, gloriosum subiisse martyrium"³. The Pseudo-Abdias relates the story of the martyrdom of SS. Simon and Jude, in the city of Suanir in Persia, in exact accordance with Bede's citation, which renders it probable that the "Historiæ in quibus Apostolorum passiones continentur," referred to by him, was no other than the "Historia certaminis Apostolici" now extant, especially as we do not find elsewhere any mention of the city of Suanir⁴. If so, we see that, even at that time, the work was generally rejected as spurious, "a plurimis deputantur apocryphæ"⁵.

The "Passio S. Johannis Evangelistæ" attributed to Mellitus, has still

¹ *Defenders*.—The authorities are collected in the *Testimonia et Censura* prefixed to the *Historia* of Abdias, by Joh. Alb. Fabricius, *Codex Apocr. N. Test.*, Hamburg, 1703, tom. ii. p. 388, sq.; see also Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.*, tom. i. p. 488; Coci, *Censura*, p. 82, sq.; Baronii *Annal.*, A. D. 51, No. 51.

² *Eusebius*.—See Abdias, lib. vi. c. 4, and Fabricius, *ubi sup.*, p. 597, not. *. Fabricius has given the following negative opinion as to the age of this author: "Neque tantæ mihi videtur hoc scriptum antiquitatis, ut Hieronymis et Augustinis possit de ætate contendere. Nam ex veteribus nemo ejus meminit, et scribendi genus ipsum, et usus familiarior Vulgatæ ac versionum Rufini sequiorem ætatem arguunt."

³ *Martyrium*.—Bede, *Retract. in Act. Apost.* i. 13 (Opp. tom. xii., p. 90, ed. Giles.)

⁴ *Suanir*.—Abdias, *Hist. Apostol.*, lib. v. c. 20, sq. Fabricius says: "De civitate Persidis cui nomen Suanir, altum apud veteres silentium."—*Ubi sup.*, p. 744. Tillemont suggests that Suanir may be a city of the Suani or Surani, mentioned by Pliny. *Mém.*, t. i., p. 400.

⁵ *Apocrypha*.—See Oudin. *De Scripturis Eccles.*, tom. ii. 418, sq., where the arguments against the genuineness of the work are stated. Oudin, however, fixes A. D. 910, as the date of the Pseudo-Abdias, not being aware that the book was known to Bede, and that, therefore, it must have been extant before A. D. 735, when Bede died.

less pretensions to antiquity. Eusebius¹ mentions an eminent saint and writer, Mellitus, or Melito, Bishop of Sardes in Lydia (A.D. 170), and gives an account of his numerous writings, none of which are now extant. It is probable, therefore, that the author of the Passion of St. John, under the name of Mellitus, intended to personate this Melito of Sardes, although he has styled himself² "Mellitus servus Christi Episcopus Laudociæ" (i. e. Laodiceæ); but in another Apocryphal book³, "*De transitu Mariæ*," which is generally supposed to be by the same author, he has called himself "Melito servus Christi et episcopus ecclesiæ Sardensis," intending, no doubt, the Melito of Sardes, mentioned by Eusebius, and from Eusebius, by S. Jerome⁴.

It is not easy to fix the precise date of this Pseudo-Melito, or Mellitus. The book, *De obitu* [or *transitu*] *beatæ Mariæ*, is twice referred to by the Ven. Bede (*Retractt. in Actt.*, c. viii., xiii.), and in both cases with strong censure. That book, therefore, must be older than the eighth century; and so will fix the date of the "*Passio S. Johannis Evang.*," if we assume that both works, as both bearing the name of Mellitus, or Melito, are by the same author⁵.

The Legend of St. John and the poisoned cup occurs in the *Apostolica Historia* of Abdias, and also in the *Passio S. Johannis* of Mellitus, in nearly the same words, and it is evident that one of these writers (if they be different) must have copied from the other, or both from some common source. This Legend is given in the Irish Preface to the following Prayer, with some variations from the narratives of Abdias and Mellitus, which will be pointed out in the Additional Notes, so far as they are of any importance.

There is a valuable (although not perfect) MS. of the Pseudo-Abdias in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (G. 4. 16) which is probably of the tenth or early part of the eleventh century. The story of St. John and the poisoned cup from the text of this MS. will be found in Note B, p. 272, *infra*.

In the artistic representations of St. John in the pictures and stained glass of the middle ages, he is frequently represented holding in his hand a cup, or

¹ Eusebius.—Euseb. Hist. Eccl., lib. iv. c. 26, who calls him Μελίτων τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσι παρικίας ἐπίσκοπος.

² Styled himself.—J. A. Fabricii, *ubi supra*, part iii., p. 604.

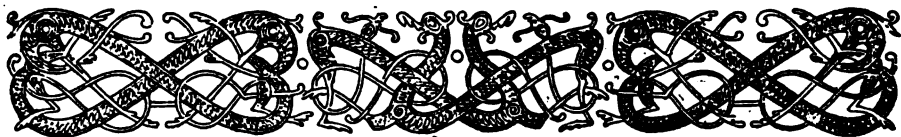
³ Book.—Fabricius. *Ibid.*, p. 623.

⁴ S. Jerome.—De Viris Illustribus, cap. 24.

⁵ Author.—Ceillier says (*Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.*, tom. ii., p. 79), speaking of the tract, *De obitu B Mariæ*, "L'Auteur paroît être le même que celui du livre qui a pour titre : *La Passion de S. Jean l'Evangeliste* sous le nom de Mellitus, Evêque de Laodicée." See also Fabricius, *loc. cit.*

chalice, sometimes a serpent, sometimes a demon, is seen issuing from the chalice. These representations are evidently founded on the Legend with which we are concerned; the serpent, or demon, representing the flight of the deadly influence from the poisoned cup.

A translation of the Scholiast's preface will be found in Note A, p. 271, *infra*. It is to be regretted that some words in this preface, and particularly the passage with which it concludes, are now illegible in our MS.



deus meus. Iohannes filiur Zebebei hanc epistolam fecit. In epep̃ur bana doponab, maimp̃ur imorpo domiciani doponab; haec est causa .i. con[tra] mōr dopala etur eoin ꝛ ap̃itobim .i. pacare tempul deanae. Conep̃baure eoin p̃u ap̃itobim, Tiazam a ap̃itobim ol re, co tempul ep̃it pil ip̃m cathraiz ꝛ attaz deam ann co taich in tempul, ꝛ neza let̃u iap̃im co tempul deanae, ꝛ g̃uid̃p̃etra ep̃it copo tuite, ꝛ dia teth tempul deane ep̃um̃ra ip̃ p̃ep̃ur ep̃it ap̃ deam, ꝛ ip̃p̃ed ap̃ chō̃ur d̃uit̃ru ab̃nad ep̃it iap̃reim. Dent̃ar iap̃um ap̃ ap̃itobim. Lot̃ar port co tempul ep̃it, op̃auit ap̃itobimur ep̃ib̃ur hop̃ur deam̃, et nec tamen cecidit templum ch̃ip̃it. Exierunt por̃tea ad templum deanae, et op̃auit iohannes ut cadep̃et et p̃tatum cecidit. Et ap̃itobimur temptauit occidere iohannem p̃ed non aur̃ur est p̃po multitudine Ch̃ip̃it̃anorum. IN p̃ail ñi p̃olaab cumcabaure uat beor ap̃itobim, ap̃ eoin. Aca, ap̃ re, d̃ianebaru l̃ñ cailiz de linn ueneno et ꝛ non ep̃ur mortũur p̃tatum ep̃ebam deo tuo: ꝛ d̃ixit iohannes, d̃ic h̃ic, d̃abit̃ur, ap̃ re, act co t̃ap̃tar donacimmedaib̃ ap̃ ep̃ial̃tar do mar̃bad icoñd p̃iz nunc, quia non meliur est mori p̃ep̃o quam ueneno, ut t̃imep̃et iohannes d̃ixit ap̃itobimur hoc. et p̃rimur p̃op̃p̃eiz cañi uenenum et p̃tatum mortũur est, ꝛ port canem p̃op̃p̃eiz rem̃iae, ꝛ illa p̃imil̃ter mortua est, ꝛ port̃ea d̃atur est ill̃ur potur, ꝛ mortũi p̃unt p̃tatum. ꝛ p̃ic deb̃it iohanni, ꝛ d̃ixit iohannes tunc, deur meur p̃ater, .ip̃l. ꝛ bib̃it ꝛ non nocuit ei. ꝛ haec est causa d̃eñma huiur q̃m̃i. ꝛ p̃up̃it̃at̃ p̃unt qui mortũi p̃uerunt ueneno. ꝛ p̃ic ep̃eb̃id̃it ap̃itobimur, ꝛ alii mult̃i cum eo. ꝛ ꝛ qui cantauer̃it hunc q̃m̃um in liquorem aut in aliquod quod por̃it nocere in p̃ant̃at̃em [p̃eb̃it]. IN p̃ine uniur̃cuiurque anni eleg̃itur de populo iuueñur p̃ant̃ur p̃ine macula p̃ecoat̃i, ut con . . . ioh . . . ꝛ uñg̃er eiur circ̃um . . .



DEUS meus et pater et filius et spiritus sanctus
cui omnia subiecta sunt et cui omnis crea-
tura deseruit et omnis potestas subiecta est
et metuit et expauescit et draco fugit et silit

Gloss.—1. *Deus meus*.—Adit tu extingit. 2. *Cui*.—i. ip̃ d̃uit̃ru [it is to thee]. *Omnia*.—
.i. elementa. 4. *Draco*.—Multa genera sunt draconum .i. terrestres. . . . sed omnes igne nocent.

1. *Deus meus*.—The gloss over these words signifies that the word *Deus* “goes to” *tu extingit*; i.e. that *Deus* is in apposition with *tu* (line 11), all between being a parenthesis.

4. *Draco*.—The gloss over this word, which is in Latin, runs out into the margin, and is partly obliterated. All that is legible of it is given above.

vipera et rubeta illa quae dicitur rana quæta torpes-
cit scorpius extingitur regulus vincitur et spelagijs nil

Gloss.—5. *Vipera*.—i. e. vi parens, .i. dente nocet. *Quieta*.—i. antach .i. blebmīl. 6. *Regulus*.
—i. anela nocet. *Spelagijs*.—i. uestigio nocet.

5. *Vipera*.—The etymology in the gloss, “vi parens,” is an allusion to the ancient popular opinion as to the parturition of the viper, which is thus described by Isidorus Hispalensis:—“*Vipera dicta, quod vi pariat. Nam, quum venter ejus ad partum ingemuerit, catuli non expectantes naturæ maturam solutionem corrosis eius lateribus vi erumpunt cum matris interitu.*”—*Etymol. lib. xii. cap. iv. n. 10. (Opp. tom. iv., p. 65. Romæ. 1801.) Rana*.—“*Ex iis [ranis, sc.] quædam aquaticæ dicuntur, quædam palustres, quædam rubetæ, ob id quia in vepribus vivunt grandiores cunctarum.*”—*Isid. Hispal., ibid., cap. vi. n. 58 (Opp. ib. p. 85).* *Quieta*.—Over this word occurs the gloss in Irish, which is given above, and which, probably, may have been intended to explain *Draco*, although, for want of room, written under instead of over that word. But it may have been intended to explain *rana*, an animal then, perhaps, unknown in Ireland. The word *antach* occurs, p. 206, *supra* (line 10), as a gloss on the word “otiosa.” Mr. Curry thinks that it signifies here the *remora*, or *echinois*. *blebmīl* is a *whale*; *bled*, a whale; “*gl. pistrix; gl. bellua marina*” (*Zeuss*, p. 100); *mīl*, a beast; Welsh, *mīl*. So that the author of the gloss, having no idea of a frog or toad, imagined it to be a sea monster, a whale, or *remora*: an animal able to stop the progress of a ship at sea, by ad-

hering to the keel. In O'Davoren's glossary we have “*bleth* .i. *mil mór* [a whale]; *blaid*, i. e. *muir* [the sea], ut est *blaidhmīl*” [a sea-beast]. Stokes, *Three Old Irish Glossaries*, pp. 59, 61. *Torpescit*.—In the margin are these words: “*Coluber cinere, scorpius cauda silius* [? *basiliscus*, or *sibilus*] ossibus post mortem nocet, serpens lingua [i. e. lingua] nocet.” These descriptions are not from Isidore, who says, however, “*Sibilus idem est qui regulus. Sibilus enim occidit, antequam mordeat vel exurat.*”—*Etym. xii., c. iv., n. 9.*

6. *Regulus*.—Is the Latin equivalent for the Greek *Basiliscus*, and denotes the same serpent:—“*Basiliscus græce, latine interpretatur regulus, eo quod rex serpentum est, adeo ut eum videntes fugiant, quia olfactu suo eos necat; nam et hominem vel si aspiciat interimit. Siquidem ad ejus aspectum nulla avis volans illæsa transit, sed quamvis procul sit, ejus ore combusta devoratur.*”—*Isid. Etym., xii., cap. iv. n. 6 (Opp. ut supr., p. 64).* This explains the gloss, “.i. anela [for *anhela*] nocet;” (*anhela* taken as a subst.), “by breathing hurts.” In the margin there is the following note:—“*Regulus, .i. rex omnium serpentium, nulla avis volans viso eo potest evadere i. peste. et tamen mustella eum occidit.*” This seems from Isidore, who adds, after the words above quoted, “*A mustelis tamen vincitur:*

noxium operatur et omnia uenenata et adhuc perociora
 repentia et animalia noxia tenebrantur et omnes abuer-
 sae salutis humanae radices arescunt. tu extingue hoc ue-
 nenatum uirus. et extingue operationes eius mortíferas et
 uires quas in se habet euacua et da in conspectu tuo om-
 nibus his quos tu creasti oculos ut uideant, aures ut au-
 deant, cor ut magnitudinem tuam intelligant, amen. ma-
 theus marcus lucas iohannes.

Gloss.—10. *Operationes*.—1. *ueneni*.

quas illi homines inferunt cavernis, in quibus delitescit.”—*Ibid.*, n. 7, p. 65.

6. *Spelagius*.—Pseudo-Melito and Pseudo-Abdias, as printed by Fabricius, both read *phalangius*; but the Dublin MS. of the latter has *sphalangius*: this is the *phalangium* (φαλάργγιον) or venomous spider of Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* viii. 27, *et alibi*; Vegetius, *De Re Vet.*, iii. 80 (al. 81), where some edd. have *sphalangiis*. The gloss, “vestigio nocet,” seems to intimate that

this spider insinuates his poison by merely crawling over the flesh.

12. *Audeant*.—This is only the Irish orthography of *e* for *i*; for *audiant*. See Reeves' *Adamnan*, *Pref.*, p. xvi., xvii.

13. *Mathews*.—This is a curious example of the ancient custom of invoking the names of the Evangelists, as a protection against evil: “Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, Bless the bed that we lye on.”

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE A.

The Scholiast's Preface.

THIS Preface is written in the same mixture of Latin and Irish which we have already had occasion to notice in the other Prefaces. The following is a literal translation :—

Deus meus. John, son of Zebedee, composed this Epistle. In Ephesus it was composed. In the time of Domitian it was composed. This was the cause :—There was a great contest between John and Aristodemus, the priest of the Temple of Diana, so that John said to Aristodemus, "Let us go, O Aristodemus," said he, "to the Temple of Christ, which is in the city, and pray thou there to Diana that the Temple may fall, and I will go with thee afterwards to the Temple of Diana, and I will pray to Christ that it may fall; and if the Temple of Diana shall fall for me, then Christ is better than Diana, and it will be right for thee to worship Christ henceforth." "Let this be done," said Aristodemus. They went then to the Temple of Christ. Aristodemus^a prayed for three hours to Diana; and, nevertheless, the Temple of Christ fell not. They went afterwards to the Temple of Diana, and John prayed that it might fall, and it fell immediately. And Aristodemus sought to kill John; but durst not, owing to the number of the Christians.

"Is there^b anything that would banish doubt from thee, O Aristodemus?" said John. "There is," said he; "if thou drink a full cup of ale [mixed] with poison, and if thou shalt not be dead, I will at once believe in thy God;" and John said, "Bring it hither, it shall be given," said he. "But let it be given to the prisoners, who are about to be put to death by the king now, for it is not better to die by the sword than by poison." Aristodemus said this that John might fear; and first he gave the poison to a dog^c, and it died immediately; and after the dog he gave to an ape, and it died likewise; and afterwards the draught was given to them [i. e. to the prisoners], and they died immediately. And so he gave it to

^a *Aristodemus.*—From this word to the end of the paragraph is in Latin.

^b *Is there.*—The next words are Irish, to the word "*ale*;" then Latin, to "it shall be given;" then Irish, to the words "to be put to death by the

king now;" the remainder is Latin.

^c *To a dog.*—There is nothing about these experiments upon the dog and the ape in the original Legend, as given by the Pseudo-Abdias and Mellitus. See Add. Note B.

John; and John said then, *Deus meus, Pater, &c.*, and he drank, and it did him no hurt. And this is the cause of the composition^d of this hymn; and they who had died of the poison were raised, and so Aristodemus believed, and many others with him. And if any one shall sing this Hymn over drink, or anything that might prove injurious, it will restore him to health [or render it harmless.]

"At the end of every year there is elected out of the people a holy youth, without stain of sin, that"

The remaining words are illegible; a few letters here and there are visible, but the deficiency can only be supplied by conjecture. Dr. O'Donovan suggests, "ut tondeatur in f [i. e. in feria] Johannis, et ungetur eius circum . . ." or "ut tondeat eum episcopus Johanni et unges[?] eius circum . . ." The name Mael-eoin, which signifies "tonsured to John," or in honour of John (now anglicized *Malone*), is common in Ireland, and bears testimony to the ancient custom of tonsuring in honour of St. John.

NOTE B.

The Legend of St. John and the poisoned cup.

The following is the Legend of St. John and the poisoned cup, as it is given in the "*Historia certaminis Apostolici*" of the Pseudo-Abdias. The text is taken from the ancient MS. of this work, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin*, collated with the printed text of Abdias, as given by Fabricius, and also with that of the "*Passio S. Johannis Evangelistæ*" by the Pseudo-Mellitus^f, as published by the same author: the readings of Abdias, in the edition of Fabricius, will be denoted by the letter A, those of Mellitus, by M.

The history of St. John is the fifth book of the work of Abdias, and the following story is the eighth section or chapter in the MS., the nineteenth in the edition of Fabricius (*Cod. Apoc. N. Test.* ii., p. 573). The "*Passio S. Joannis Evangelistæ*," by Mellitus, was printed by Franciscus Maria Florentinius, *Martyrol. S. Hieronymi*, p. 130, and reprinted by Fabricius (*Op. cit.* iii., p. 604).

.viii. Cum autem^g omnis ciuitas ephesiorum, immo omnis prouincia asiæ iohannem excoleret^h et predicaret, accidit ut cultores idolorum, excitarent seditionem. Unde factum est ut iohannem traherent ad tem-

^d *Composition*.—Here the one word, dénmu, "of making, or composition" [nom. dénum], is Irish, all the rest being Latin.

* *Dublin*.—See above, p. 266.

^f *Mellitus*.—See p. 265-6, *supra*.

^g *Cum autem*.—A. reads "Dum hæc fierent apud Ephesum et omnes indies magis magisque Asiæ prouinciæ Joannem et excolerent et predicarent, accidit," &c.

^h *Excoleret*.—Excolerent et predicarent, A. M.

plum diane, et urgerent eum ut ei foeditatem sacrificiorum offerret. Tunc¹ beatus iohannes ait; ducam² uos omnes ad³ ecclesiam domini ihu xpi: et inuocantes⁴ nomen eius, faciam cadere templum hoc, et comminui idolum uestrum. Quod cum⁵ factum fuerit, iustum uobis⁶ uideri debet: ut relicta superstitione eius rei, quæ a deo meo uicta est, et confRACTA: ad ipsum⁷ conuertamini; Ad hanc uocem conticuit populus⁸: et licet essent pauci qui contradicerent huic diffinitioni: pars tamen maxima adsensum⁹ adtribuit. Tunc beatus iohannes blandis alloquiis exhortabatur populum: ut a templo longe se facerent. Cumque uniuersi exteriore¹⁰ parte foris exissent, uoce clara omnibus¹¹ dixit. Ut sciat omnis hæc turba quia idolum hoc diane uestræ¹² demonium est et non deus, corruat cum omnibus manu factis idolis, quæ coluntur in eo: ita ut¹³ nullam in hominibus læsionem faciat. Continuo ad hanc uocem apostoli omnia simul cum templo suo idola ita corruerunt ut efficerentur sicut puluis quem proicit¹⁴ uentus a facie terræ. Conuersi sunt¹⁵ eadem die duodecim milia gentilium exceptis paruulis et mulieribus et baptismatis¹⁶ sunt consecrati uirtute. Tunc aristodimus qui erat pontifex omnium¹⁷ idolorum repletus spiritu nequissimo excitauit seditionem in populo ita ut populus contra populum pararetur in bellum. Sed beatus iohannes ait; Dic mihi aristodime quid faciam ut tollam indignationem de animo tuo. Cui¹⁸ aristodimus dixit¹⁹. Si uis ut credam deo tuo dabo tibi uenenum bibere; quod cum biberis si non fueris mortuus apparebit uerum esse deum tuum. Cui sanctus apostolus ait²⁰. Venenum si dederis mihi bibere inuocato nomine domini mei non poterit nocere me²¹; Cui aristodimus²² ait; Prius est ut uideas²³ bibentes et statim morientes ut uel sic possit cor tuum ab hoc poculo²⁴ formidare²⁵. Cui²⁶ beatus iohannes respondit. Iam dixi tibi tu paratus esto credere in dominum²⁷ ihu xpm cum²⁸ me uideris post ueneni poculum sanum. Perrexit itaque aristodimus ad proconsulem: et petiit ab eo duos uiros, qui pro suis erant sceleribus decollandi²⁹; et statuens³⁰ eos in medio foro, coram omni³¹ populo in

¹ Tunc.—Inter hæc, A.

² Ducam.—Ducamus omnes eos, A.

³ Ad.—In ecclesia Domini mei, M.

⁴ Et inuocantes.—Et inuocantes nomen Diane uestræ facite cadere ecclesiam ejus, et consentiam vobis. Si autem hoc facere non potestis, ego inuoco nomen Domini mei Jesu Christi, et faciam, &c., M. Et cum inuocaveritis, A.

⁵ Cum.—Ubi, A. Cum fuerit (omitting factum), M.

⁶ Vobis.—Nobis, A.

⁷ Ad ipsum.—Ad id ipsum, A.

⁸ Populus.—Omnis populus, M.

⁹ Adsensum.—Consensum, A. M.

¹⁰ Exteriores.—Et interiore, M.

¹¹ Omnibus.—Voce clara clamauit, A. Voce clara coram omnibus dixit, M.

¹² Vestra.—Omit, M.

¹³ Ita ut.—Ita tamen ut, A.

¹⁴ Proicit.—Project, A.

¹⁵ Conuersi sunt.—Conuersi sunt autem eo die, M. Itaque conuersa sunt eadem die, A.

¹⁶ Baptismatis.—Et baptizati sunt consecrati vir-

tute, M. Et baptizati sunt a beato Joanne et uirtute consecrati, A.

¹⁷ Omnium.—Omit, M. Quæ cum animadverte- ret Aristodemus, qui erat Pontifex omnium illorum idolorum, A.

¹⁸ Sed beatus . . . ait.—Ad quem conuersus Jo- annes, Dic mihi Aristodime (inquit), A.

¹⁹ Cui.—Omit, M.

²⁰ Dixit.—Omit, A.

²¹ Ait.—Cui apostolus ait, M. Respondit Apo- stolus, A.

²² Nocere me.—Nocere non poterit, A. Non po- terit nocere mihi, M.

²³ Aristodimus.—Cui rursus Aristodemus, A.

²⁴ Ut uideas.—Volo ut prius uideas, A.

²⁵ Poculo.—Periculo, M.

²⁶ Formidare.—Abhorre, A.

²⁷ Cui.—Ad quem beatus Joannes, jam antea dixi tibi, quia paratus sum bibere ut credas, A.

²⁸ In dominum.—In Dominum meum, M.

²⁹ Cum.—Dum, M.

³⁰ Decollandi.—De quibus debebat ultimum sup- plicium sumi, A.

conspectu apostoli⁶ fecit eos bibere uenenum: qui mox ut biberent⁷ spiritum exalauerunt⁸. Tunc dicit⁹ aristodimus Audi me¹⁰ iohannes: et¹¹ aut recede ab ista doctrina qua deorum¹² cultura reuocasti¹³ populum, aut accipe et bibe: ut ostendes¹⁴ omnipotentem esse deum tuum si postea quam biberis, potueris incolumis permanere. Tunc beatus iohannes iacentibus mortuis his qui uenenum biberant intrepidus¹⁵ et constans accepit calicem et signaculum crucis faciens in eo¹⁶ dixit. Deus meus¹⁷ et pater domini mei¹⁸ ihu xpe cuius uerbo caeli firmati sunt, cui omnia subiecta sunt, cui omnia creatura deseruit et omnis potestas subiecta est et metuit¹⁹ et expauescit. Cum²⁰ nos te ad auxilium inuocamus, cuius audito nomine serpens conuiescit. Draco fugit, silet uipera, et rubeta illa quae dicitur rana inquietas²¹ [sic] torpescit, scorpius²² extinguitur, regulus uincitur, et sphalangius²³ nihil noxium operatur, ets omnia uenenata²⁴ et adhuc ferociora repentia et animalia noxia te reuerentur²⁵ et omnes²⁶ aduersas salutis humanae radices arescunt. Tu²⁷ extingue hoc uenenosum²⁸ uirus, extingue operationes eius²⁹ mortiferas et uires quas in se habet euacua, et da³⁰ in conspectu tuo³¹ omnibus his quos tu creasti oculos ut uideant, aures ut audiant³² et cor ut magnitudinem tuam intelligant, et cum hoc dixisset, os suum et totum semetipsum armavit³³ signo crucis et bibit totum quod erat in calice et postea quam bibit dixit. Peto ut propter quos bibi conuertantur ad te domine et salutem quam³⁴ [sic] te est te inluminante mereantur. Attendente autem³⁵ populo iohannem per tres horas uultum habere hilarem et nulla penitus signa palloris aut trepidationis habentem clamare coeperunt³⁶. Vnus deus uerus est quem colit iohannes. Aristodimus autem³⁷ nec sic credebat sed populos objurgabat eum; Ille autem conuersus

⁶ *Et statuens.*—Quos cum statuisset, A.

⁷ *Omit.*—Omit, M.

⁸ *In conspectu Apostoli.*—Omit, M. Aspiciente Apostolo, A.

⁹ *Biberent.*—Qui mox biberunt, M. Qui mox ut biberunt, A.

¹⁰ *Exalauerunt.*—Exhalauerunt, M.

¹¹ *Tunc dicit.*—Tunc dixit, M. Tunc conuersus ad Joannem Aristodemus: Audi me (inquit) et recede, A.

¹² *Me.*—Omit, M.

¹³ *Et.*—Omit, M.

¹⁴ *Qua deorum.*—The MS. at first had *qua eorum*, but a later hand has inserted *d.* Qua a deorum, A. M.

¹⁵ *Reuocasti.*—Revocas, A.

¹⁶ *Ostendes.*—Ostendas, A. M.

¹⁷ *Intrepidus.*—Ut intrepidus, A.

¹⁸ *In eo.*—Omit, A.

¹⁹ *Deus meus.*—Deus meus Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus cui omnia subiecta sunt, M.

²⁰ *Mei.*—Nostri, A.

²¹ *Et metuit.*—Quem et metuit, A.

²² *Cum.*—Itaque, A.

²³ *Inquietas.*—Inquieta, A. Quies, M.

²⁴ *Scorpius.*—Et scorpius, M.

²⁵ *Sphalangius.*—Phalangius, A. M.

²⁶ *Et.*—Denique, M.

²⁷ *Venenata.*—Venena, A.

²⁸ *Reuerentur.*—This word is inserted over an erasure, by a hand of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The original reading of this MS. was probably *tenebrantur*, as in the *Liber Hymnorum* and M., or *terabratur*, as in A.

²⁹ *Et omnes.*—This clause to "arescunt" is omitted in A.

³⁰ *Tu.*—Tu inquam ille, A.

³¹ *Venenosum.*—Venenum, M.

³² *Ejus.*—Omit, M.

³³ *Et da.*—Omit, M.

³⁴ *Tuo.*—Omit, M.

³⁵ *Audiant.*—M. omits "aures ut audiant."

³⁶ *Armavit.*—Et cum hæc dixisset, os suum et totum semetipsum armavit, &c., A. Et cum dixisset totum semetipsum ornauit signo crucis, et bibit omne quod erat in calice, M.

³⁷ *Quam.*—Quæ, A. M.

³⁸ *Autem.*—Omit, A. Attendentes autem populi, M.

³⁹ *Coeperunt.*—Voce magna coepit, A.

⁴⁰ *Autem.*—Tamen ne sic quidem credebat populo objurgante hunc, A.

ad iohannem dixit, inest^v mihi adhuc dubietas^v, sed si istos qui hoc veneno^x mortui sunt in nomine dei tui excitaueris emundabitur ab omni dubietate^v meus mea; Populi^r autem insurgebant in aristodimum dicentes; incedimus et te et domum tuam si ausus fueris ultra apostolum^a tuo sermone fatigare; Videns autem iohannes acerrime seditionem fieri petiit silentium et^b omnibus audientibus ait; Prima est quam de virtutibus diuinis imitari^c debemus patientia, per quam ferre possumus incredulorum insipientiam; unde si adhuc aristodimus ab infidelitate tenetur, soluamus nodos infidelitatis eius et licet tarde faciamus^d eum agnoscere creatorem suum; Non enim cessabo ab hoc opere quo medella^e citius possit eius uulneribus provenire^f; et sicut medici habentes inter manus aegrum medella^e indigentem, ita etiam nos si adhuc curatus non est^g de eo quod factum est; Et conuocans ad se aristodimum dedit ei tunicam suam, ipse uero pallio amictus coepit stare; Cui ait aristodimus ut quid dedisti mihi tunicam tuam; Dicit ei iohannes; ut uel sic confusus a tua infidelitate credas^h; Cui aristodimus ait, et quomodo me tunica tua facietⁱ ab infidelitate recedere. Cui respondit apostolus. Uade et mitte eam super corpora defunctorum et dices ita; Apostolus domini mei^j ihu xpi misit me ut in eius nomine exsurgatis ut cognoscant omnes^k quia uita et mors famulantur domino meo ihu xpo. Quod cum fecisset aristodimus et uidisset eos exsurgere adorans iohannem festinus perrexit ad proconsulem, &c.

It is unnecessary to transcribe more of this story, as we have here all of it that is required for the illustration of our Irish Scholiast, proving that the Abelian or Mellitan Legends must have been the authority from which he derived his materials. It will be seen that the text of Mellitus agrees more nearly with that of the ancient Dublin MS. of Abdias than with the text printed by Fabricius; but it is certain that they are in reality, so far as this Legend is concerned, the same, and not two different works.

^v *Inest*.—Deest mihi adhuc hoc unum, quod si istos, A.

^w *Dubietas*.—Dubitatio, M.

^x *Hoc veneno*.—Per hoc venenum, M.

^y *Dubietate*.—Incredulitate, M. Dubio, A.

^z *Populi*.—Quae cum dixisset, plebs insurgebat in Aristodemum dicens, A.

^a *Apostolorum*.—Incendimus te et domum tuam si ausus fueris ultra Apostolum Dei in tuo sermone facere laborare, M. Incendimus te et domum tuam si pergas ulterius apostolum sermonibus tuis fatigare, A.

^b *Et*.—M. omits "petiit silentium et."

^c *Imitari*.—Prima est de virtutibus Diuinis quam videmur imitari patientiam, M.

^d *Faciamus*.—Faciamus tamen eum, M. Soluamus nodos infidelitatis ejus. Cogetur, quantumvis sero, agnoscere, A.

^e *Medella*.—Sic a prima manu: but the first *l* has been erased by a later hand. The same is the case wherever this word occurs.

^f *Provenire*.—Non enim cessabo hoc opere, quomodo ejus possit vulneribus provenire, M. Non enim cessabo ab hoc opere donec medela ejus possit vulneribus opitulari, A.

^g *Medella*.—Varia medela, M.

^h *Non est*.—Non est Aristodemus his quae facta modo sunt, curabitur illis quae jam faciam, A. Non est, ideoque quod factum non est aliud faciamus, M.

ⁱ *Credas*.—This word has been altered by a more recent hand to *recedas* (as in A): the *c* being erased and *ce* inserted. Discedas, M.

^j *Faciet*.—Facit, M.

^k *Mei*.—Nostri, A. M.

^l *Omnes*.—Ut in nomine Dei ejus surgatis et cognoscant homines, &c., M.

There is nothing, however, either in Mellitus or in Abdias to correspond with the concluding paragraph of the Irish preface, where we read of a holy youth elected annually from the people of Ephesus, who (if our conjectural reading of the concluding very obscure words be correct) was to be tonsured in honour of St. John. The Editor has been unable to find anything like this in any other authority.

XVIII. THE EPISTLE OF CHRIST TO ABGARUS, KING OF EDESSA.

THIS celebrated Epistle, together with the Letter of Abgarus to Christ, to which it professes to be a reply, was first made known to the Church by Eusebius, the great ecclesiastical historian of the fourth century. He tells us expressly that he had them from the records of Edessa, the city of which Abgarus¹ was the "toparch" or governor; and that down to his own time the documents were preserved amongst the antiquarian muniments of Edessa. He states also that the original letters were written in Syriac, and that he had introduced them into his History, translated from the originals into Greek².

¹ *Abgarus*.—Written *Abagarus* by Rufinus, and in the supposed Decree of Gelasius. Eusebius and others spell the name *Agbarus*; and it is remarkable that (at least in Valesius's edition of Eusebius) the name is spelled *Agbarus*, everywhere except in the Epistles themselves, where we have *Abgarus*. Valesius prefers the former spelling, because the word *Akbar* in Arabic signifies *powerful, great* (Heb. גבר), and the name is said to have been common to all the reguli of Edessa, as Pharaoh to the Kings of Egypt. But in the Syriac Chronicle of Bar Hebraeus, the name is always *Abgar*, which Bernstein, in his Syriac Lexicon, derives from the Armenian *Avag-air* (primarius, insignis), an etymology much more probable, considering the geographical position of Edessa, than the derivation from Arabic. The idea of a correspondence between our Lord and Ab-

garus, may have been suggested by Matt. iv. 24,—“And his fame went through all Syria.”

But on the whole of this history, and on the name, see Theoph. Siegfr. Bayer, *Historia Osrhoena et Edessena, ex numis illustrata*, lib. ii. p. 73, sq., lib. iii. p. 95.

² *Greek*.—The following are the words of Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. i. c. 13:—Ἐχεις καὶ τούτων ἀνάγραφον τὴν μαρτυρίαν, ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Ἑδίσσαν το τὴν καὶ βασιλευμένον πόλιν γραμματοφυλακείων ληφθείσαν. ἐν γούν τοῖς αὐτόθι δημοσίαις χάρταις, τοῖς τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀγβαρον πραχθέντα περιέχουσι, καὶ ταῦτα εἰσεῖς καὶ νῦν ἐξ ἐκείνου πεφυλαγμένα εὕρηται. οὐδὲν δὲ ὅλον καὶ αὐτῶν ἱσακοῦσαι τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡμῖν ἀναληφθεισῶν, καὶ τὸνδε αὐτοῖς ῥημασιν ἐκ τῆς Σύρων φωνῆς μεταβληθεισῶν τὸν τρέπον. Then follows the Epistle itself.

It is unnecessary for the purposes of the present work to enter at length into the question of the authenticity or genuineness of the Epistles. That Eusebius believed¹ in them, and that they were received as genuine in the East for some time, are facts not to be doubted. But it is evident that neither St. Jerome nor St. Augustine had any faith in their authenticity. On the contrary, both those Fathers declare expressly that our blessed Lord left nothing of His own writing². They are not mentioned by St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, or any of the Fathers of the two centuries after Eusebius.

In modern times, however, eminent names are to be found on both sides of the controversy. Amongst the divines of the Church of England—Bishop Montague, Grabe, and Cave; amongst those of the Church of Rome—Baronius, Schelstraet, Tillemont, Asseman, and others, have advocated the genuineness, or probable genuineness, of the Epistles. On the other side are Bellarmin, Natalis Alexander, Erasmus, Melchior Canus, Simon, J. A. Fabricius, Ceillier, and many others³.

The Epistles are condemned in the celebrated Decree usually attributed to Pope Gelasius, and published in the collections of Councils as part of the Acts

¹ *Believed*.—See his *Ecl. Hist.*, ii. c. 1.

² *Of His own writing*.—So St. Jerome in Ezek. xlv. 29, 30. "Salvator nullam volumen doctrinæ suæ proprium dereliquit, quod in plerisque apocryphorum deliramenta confingunt, sed Patris et suo Spiritu quotidie loquitur in corde credentium." This testimony is the stronger, because it shows that he was aware of the existence of apocryphal writings attributed to our Lord. And so also St. Augustine, in a passage where he seems almost to allude to this very Epistle to Abgarus:—"Si enim prolatae fuerint aliquæ literæ, quæ nullo alio narrante ipsius Christi esse dicantur; unde fieri poterat ut si vere ipsius essent, non legerentur, non acciperentur, non præcipuo culmine auctoritatis eminerent in ejus ecclesia, quæ ab ipso per apostolos, succedentibus sibi met episcopis, usque ad hæc tempora propagata dilatatur; etc."—*Contra Faustum*, lib.

xxviii. c. 4 (*Ed. Bened.*, tom. viii., 439); and this is indeed an argument against the genuineness of the Epistle which seems very difficult to answer.

³ *Many others*.—An excellent summary of the literature of the Epistles, with references to the authorities on both sides, will be found in the learned work of the Rev. Richard Gibbings, entitled "Roman Forgeries and Falsifications," although, how these Epistles came to be *Roman forgeries*, he does not explain. The reader will find almost everything in Fabricius, *Cod. Apocr. Novi Test.*, tom. i., p. 316*, and in Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs Ecl.*, tom. i., p. 474, sq.; add also Carpzov. *Comment. Critica in libros N. Test.*, § xix. Lips. 1730; Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tom. i., p. 2, sq. (*Oxon.* 1740); and Lardner, *Heathen Testimonies*, ch. i. (Works by Dr. Kippis, vol. vi. p. 596.)

of a Synod¹ of seventy Bishops held at Rome, A. D. 494 or 496. Here we read, "Epistola Jesu ad Abagarum regem apocrypha. Epistola Abagari² ad Jesum apocrypha."

From this it appears that if the Decree of Gelasius be a genuine Decree of that Pope, it was probably unknown, or at least not received³, in the Church of Ireland, when the MS. of the *Liber Hymnorum* was written. For the *Epistola Jesu* is manifestly assumed to be genuine, and was apparently read, as a Lesson, in the Irish Church in some office of public or private devotion. This, it need scarcely be observed, did not imply the reception of the Epistle as *Canonical* Scripture, but such use of it was clearly inconsistent with the Gelasian decree, where the condemnation of the document as *Apocryphal* must have signified a prohibition. When such eminent modern scholars, however,

¹ *Synod*.—Pagi gives 496 as the date of this Synod, *Crit. in Ann. Baronii*. There is, however, much doubt as to the antiquity of the Acts of this Council, and even as to the name of the Pope by whose Decree the Apocryphal books were condemned: some copies attributing it to Pope Damasus, others to Hormisdas, but the majority to Gelasius. Even the text of the Decree is unsettled, and has been largely interpolated.

² *Abagari*.—Some copies omit the words "Epistola Abgari ad Jesum apocrypha." This omission occurs in the *Decretum Gratiani*, Dist. xv c.; *Sancta Romana Ecclesia*; and in Ivo, *Liber Decret.*: but in the Collections of the Councils both clauses will be found.

³ *Received*.—On the date and genuineness of the supposed Decree of Gelasius, see Bp. Pearson's *Vindiciæ Epistolæ S. Ignatii*, Part I., c. iv. p. 44 (4th, Cantabr. 1672), where the whole question is discussed. A good summary of the arguments against the Decree is given by Cave, *Hist. Liter.*, tom. i. p. 463 (*Oxon.* 1740), who says that it is not alluded to by any author before the year 840. Mr. Gibbings, however, has found a reference to

it in the *Opus Caroli Magni contra Synodum pro adorandis imaginibus*, written about 790. (*Roman Forg.*, p. 4.) Ceiller (*Hist. des Auteurs Eccl.*, tom. xv., p. 630, sq.) admits that the Gelasian Decree must have been interpolated, although he inclines to believe it on the whole genuine, and says that it is cited under the title of *Gelasii Papæ de Libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*, "dans une acte de l'Abbaye de saint Riquier en 432." This date, however, is a mistake, and ought to be 831. For the document referred to (which occurs in the *Chron. Centulense*, sive *S. Richarii*, lib. iii. cap. 3), is an inventory of the goods and chattels of the monastery, including its books, drawn up, as the author tells us, "Anno Incarnationis Domini dcccxxx. Indictione ix.," by order of the Emperor "Hludovicus" (i. e. Louis le Débonnaire), and in the eighteenth year of his reign: *Dacherii Spicil.* ii., p. 310 (fol. edit.). In this catalogue of the books of the monastery there occurs, under the heading *De Canonibus*, a copy of "Gelasii Papæ de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis." So that there is really no evidence that this celebrated Decree had any existence before the latter part of the eighth century. And it is

as Tillemont and Asseman, Cave and Grabe, have judged favourably, or hesitated, at least, to pronounce the Epistle a forgery, we may well excuse the Irish Churchmen, of an age eminently uncritical, for having adopted the *Epistola Jesu* without questioning the authority of Eusebius.

The following is a translation of the Preface or Scholium prefixed to the Hymn, which, as usual in this collection, is written partly in Irish, partly in Latin:—

Beatus es et reliqua. Christ himself wrote with His own hand this Epistle, as Eusebius relates in his History. And it was at Jerusalem it was written; in the time of Tiberius Cæsar it was written. And this was the cause [of writing it]; Abgarus, the Toparch, King of the land of Armenia, and of the land to the north of the River Euphrates, was in severe sickness in the city of Edessa, so that an epistle was brought from him to Christ, *requesting* that He would

remarkable that Pope Adrian I., in his letter to Charlemagne, in defence of the second Council of Nice against the objections of the Gallican bishops, assumes the truth of the story (which was assumed also in the Council), that our Lord had written to Abgarus, and quotes the authority of his predecessor, Pope Stephen, who (in answer to the objection, "Quod nulla evangelii lectio tradat Jesum ad Abagarum imaginem misisse") had said "Sed, nec illud est prætereundum, quod relatione fidelium de partibus orientis advenientium, sæpe cognovimus. In quibus licet evangelium sileat, tamen nequaquam in omnibus incredibile fidei meritum: et hoc affirmante de ipso evangelista: *Multa quidem et alia signa fecit Jesus, quæ non sunt scripta in libro hoc.* Denique fertur ab asserentibus quod Redemptor humani generis, appropinquante die passionis, cuidam regi Edessensæ civitatis, desideranti corporaliter illam cernere, et ut persecutiones Judæorum fugeret ad illum convocare, ut auditas miraculorum opiniones, et sanitarum curationes illi et populo suo impertiret, respondisset: Quod si faciem meam corporaliter cernere cupis, en tibi vultus mei speciem transformatam in linteo dirigo: per quam et

desiderii tui fervorem refrigeres, et quod de me audisti impossibile nequaquam fieri existimes. Postquam tamen complevero ea quæ de me scripta sunt, dirigam tibi unum de discipulis meis, qui tibi et populo tuo sanitates impertiat et ad sublimitatem fidei vos perducatur, &c." —Hardouin, *Concil.* tom. iv., p. 782. Here we have the authority of two Popes, sanctioning the Epistle with an interpolation which is not in the copy given by Eusebius, and which, we may observe, does not occur in the Irish Book of Hymns. But it is remarkable that this letter of Adrian to Charlemagne, which assumes the genuineness of our Lord's Epistle to Abgarus, was written (A. D. 792) in reply to that very *Opus Caroli magni*, of 790, in which the Decree of Gelasius, condemning the Epistles, was referred to. See Richard, *Analyses des Conciles*, tom. i., p. 739 (Paris, 1772. 4°). Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.* xviii. p. 230, 231. It is clear, therefore, that Pope Adrian I. cannot have regarded the Gelasian "Libellus" as genuine, for he passes it over in entire silence; and the same remark will apply to the second Council of Nice. There is, therefore, some confusion about this matter, which needs further research.

come to cure him: for he had heard that He was the Son of God, and that He had cured many. So that it was in praise of the faith of Abgarus, that Christ composed this Epistle. And this Epistle is in the city of Edessa.

In which city no heretic can live, no Jew, no worshipper of idols. Nor have barbarians ever been able to assail it, from the time when Evagarus, King of the said city, received the Epistle written by the Saviour's hand. In fine, a baptized infant, standing upon the gate and wall of the city, reads this Epistle. If ever a people should come against that city, on the day in which that Epistle, written by the hand of the Saviour, is read, those barbarians are brought to make peace, or are put to flight, routed.

The latter half of this Preface, from the words "In which city no heretic can live," &c., to the end, is in Latin; and is probably an extract from some ancient legend; in it the name of the king is written *Evagarus*, instead of Abgarus, which may indicate a different source. It is remarkable that no allusion is made to the miraculous image or picture of our Lord, so celebrated in the history of Edessa, although it is mentioned by Evagrius¹, whose Ecclesiastical History was compiled in the latter part of the sixth century.

This may be regarded as evidence that the Irish Preface was compiled from traditions of some antiquity. But, on the other hand, the privileges of Edessa, stated by our Scholiast as resulting from the possession of the autograph letter of our Lord, exhibit marks of more modern interpolation. Evagrius, indeed, mentions the general belief (*τὰ παρὰ τοῖς πιστοῖς θρυλούμενα*) that Edessa could never be taken by an enemy,—although he acknowledges that this was not said in the Epistle of Christ to Abgarus; but he seems to have known nothing of the belief that no Jew, or heretic, or infidel, could live in the city, or that a baptized child², standing on the walls of the city, was wont to read the Epistle, although

¹ *Evagrius*.—Hist. Eccles., lib. iv., c. 27. *Φέρουσι τὴν Θεότυπον εἰκόνα ἣν ἀνθρώπων μὲν χεῖρες οὐκ ἐπύγασαντο· Ἀγβάρω δὲ Χριστός ὁ Θεός, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν ἐπόθει, πίπομεν.*

² *Child*.—John of Ypra, in his Chronicle of the Monastery of St. Bertin, gives the correspondence of our Lord with Abgarus (cap. 43, part. iii.), and adds: "Post ascensionem vero Domini Thaddæus apostolus ad Abagarum missus, ipsum cum toto populo suo baptizavit, et eum a languore solo verbo curavit, juxta Christi promissum, civitatemque sic assecura-

vit, quod si quis adversarius ad illam lædendam venisset, cives infantem super portam civitatis afferebant, et Salvatoris epistolam sibi porrigebant, qui licet alias fari nescius, epistolam prompte legit, et mox inimici recesserunt: quod quidem miraculum toto Abagari et longo post hoc tempore duravit."—*Joh. Iperii, Chron. S. Bertini* (apud Martene et Durand. *Thesaur. Novus Anecd.*, tom. iii., p. 642, A). John of Ypra died A. D. 1383. See also Gilo Parisiensis, *De expeditione Hierosol.*, lib. iii. (ibid. p. 231, A), who, speak-

otherwise unable to read, or even to speak, (for that seems to be the meaning,) or that a special blessing was attached to the reading or recitation of the Epistle.

The testimony of Evagrius, that no promise of perpetual security from hostile aggression was contained in the Epistle of Christ, did not prevent the interpolation of such a promise in subsequent editions of the Epistle: for example, in that given by Constantine Porphyrogenneta, in the *Narratio de Edessena Christi Imagine*, a promise is added at the end of the Epistle, that Edessa shall never be taken by its enemies; καὶ τῇ πόλει σου γενήσεται τὸ ἱκανὸν πρὸς τὸ μηδένα τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατισχύσαι αὐτῆς. And yet the Epistle seems to have contained this clause, or some equivalent clause, in the age of St. Augustine: for the Count Darius, in a letter² in which (if its text be not interpolated) he asks Augustine for a copy of the *Confessions*, enforces his request by the example of Christ, who condescended to give a favourable reply to the petition of Abgarus, "preces supplicis non dedignaretur,"—and even granted more than He

ing of Edessa, and of the Epistle of Christ, says:

"Hæc ibi temporibus permansit epistola multis,
Atque ea ab adversis tutavit mœnia cunctis,
Nam si barbaricus furor illuc perveniebat,
Baptizatus eam puer alta ex arce legebat," etc.

¹ *Narratio*.—Published by Combefis, *Manipul. originum rerumq. C. politanarum*, p. 81, quoted by Fabricius, *ubi supr.*, p. 319.

² *Letter*.—Epist. 230 (Ed. Bened.), 263 (Ed. Lovan.). "Fertur satrapæ, seu regis potius cujusdam epistola," &c. This Epistle was unknown to Possidius, and appeared first in the Louvain edit. of St. Augustine's works. How far the allusion to the promise, which it distinctly states was made by our Lord to Edessa, "per epistolam," should militate against the genuineness of the letter attributed to Darius, cannot be discussed here. It is certain, from the testimony of Evagrius, that at the end of the sixth century the "Epistola Jesu" contained no such promise; and the answer (Ep. 231), which seems not unworthy of St. Augustine, contains no allu-

sion to the use which Darius made of our Lord's supposed Letter to Abgarus; but simply says, "Misi et alios libros quos non petisti, ne hoc tantummodo facerem quod petisti." This suggests the suspicion that the argument from our Lord's condescension to Abgarus may have been introduced into the letter of Darius, by some later copyist. It occupies a section by itself, and its omission would make no perceptible hiatus in the Epistle.—Ceillier (*Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.*, tom. xi., p. 332) says that Darius spoke of the Letter of Abgarus, and of our Lord's reply, in such a manner as to show that he doubted the authenticity of both: "d'une maniere qui fait voir qu'il doutoit de l'autenticité de l'une et de l'autre." This opinion seems to be founded upon the words *fertur*, and "Laudasse insuper suam dicitur civitatem." Baronius draws the opposite inference, that the Epistles were received as genuine: "Eas vero absque aliquâ dubitatione ab antiquioribus fuisse receptas, testatur epistola Darii comitis ad S. Augustinum scripta."—*Annal.*, A.D. 31, n. 60.

was asked,—by promising that the city of Abgarus should have perpetual security from its enemies—“et amplificato petitionis munere, per epistolam non modo salutem ut supplici, sed etiam securitatem ut regi, transmisit; *jussit insuper ejus urbem ab hostibus in perpetuum esse ac semper immunem.*”

All this tends to show that a belief in the authenticity of our Lord's correspondence with Abgarus was of great antiquity, and that legends founded upon that belief had begun to be invented at an early period. And the omission of all allusion to the Edessan image, or picture, in the Scholiast's preface, may be taken as evidence that the Irish Church had probably received the *Epistola Jesu* from a very ancient source; for this connexion of it with the picture of our Lord was one of the circumstances that gave celebrity to the Epistle, and caused it to be quoted against the iconoclasts in the second Council of Nicæa.

The Latin Version of the Epistle contained in the Irish Liber Hymnorum, and now published, appears to have been derived from the translation of Eusebius¹ by Ruffinus; it has been collated with a printed copy of Ruffinus without date, but published early in the sixteenth century under the title of “*Hystoria Ecclesiastica*,” with the following colophon, “*Venundantur Parisiis a Francisco Regnault, in vico Sancti Jacobi sub signo divi Claudii.*” The readings of this copy are distinguished in the Notes by the letter R.

¹ *Eusebius*.—Since the foregoing remarks were written, the posthumous work of the late Rev. Dr. W. Cureton has appeared, entitled “*Ancient Syriac Documents relative to the earliest establishment of Christianity in Edessa and the neighbouring countries.*” Amongst these “Documents” the Epistle to Abgarus is given from a very antient Syriac version of

the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius. The editor, Dr. William Wright, of the British Museum, states in his Preface, that Dr. Cureton was a believer in the authenticity of the Abgaran Epistles; and his name must therefore be added to the list of those divines of the Church of England who have held that opinion.



DEATUS ES ἦλ. Crip̄t p̄m p̄p̄r̄s̄b̄ cona laim innep̄r̄t̄il[r̄]e, amal abp̄c̄ Eusebius innotat̄. In hierusalem u° p̄p̄r̄s̄b̄ad. in tempore Tiberii cetrarij r̄p̄r̄t̄a er̄t. Caura u° hec er̄t, Abgarus cor̄p̄ca n̄i c̄r̄e armeniae ⁊ na c̄r̄e p̄r̄i r̄r̄uch neop̄r̄it actuat̄, p̄obai in̄galur̄ ep̄m in Ed̄ira ciuitate co succab̄ ep̄r̄t̄il uab̄ co Crip̄t co c̄r̄ab̄ diāc̄, ap̄ at̄chuala cor̄ bo mac̄o D̄e h̄e. ⁊ confab̄ rochāde. Con̄d ap̄ molab̄ ip̄r̄e Abgar̄e dōp̄ona Crip̄t innep̄r̄t̄ilr̄e. Aca ep̄a innep̄r̄t̄il r̄e in̄Ed̄ira ciuitate. IN qua ciuitate nullus hep̄eticus pot̄er̄t uiuere, nullus iudeus, nullus idolorum cultor. Sed neque barbari aliquando eam inuadere potuerunt, ex eo tempore quo Euagarij rex eiuſdem ciuitatis accepit ep̄r̄tolam manu paluatoſij r̄p̄r̄t̄am. hanc denique ep̄r̄tolam leḡit in̄p̄an̄r̄ bapt̄izatur̄ r̄tan̄r̄ r̄uper p̄p̄t̄am et murum ciuitatis. r̄i quando gen̄r̄ uenerit contra ciuitatem illam, in eodem die quo lecta fuerit ep̄r̄tola manu paluatoſij r̄p̄r̄t̄a placantur illi barbari aut puzantur in̄p̄r̄mati.



DEATUS es qui me non uidisti et credidisti in me. scriptum est enim de me, quia hi qui uident me non credent. et qui me non uident ipsi in me credent et uiuent. de eo hautem quod scripsisti mihi ut uenirem ad te. oportet me omnia

Gloss.—1. Qui.—i. abgar. 2. Scriptum est.—i. in essaia profeta. De me.—i. de christo. Hi.—i. iudei. Uident.—i. corpore. 3. Credent.—i. spiritu. Et qui.—i. gentes. Non uident.—i. corporaliter. 4. Credent.—i. spiritualiter. Uiuent.—i. in perpetuum. De eo.—i. subintellige respondeo, uel dico. 5. Scripsisti.—i. in tua epistola. Ad te.—i. ad edissam. Oportet.—i. hec est responsio .i. oportet me facere omnia [quæ] promissa sunt de me a profeta.

1. In me.—Qui credidisti in me cum me ipse non uideris, R.

2. Scriptum est.—Is. vi. 9, Matt. xiii. 13.

3. Credent.—Quia hi qui me uident non credent in me, R. This is generally supposed to be an allusion to S. John, xx. 29; but Fabricius thinks Is. vi. 9, and lii. 15, much more probably the passages referred to. Cod. Apoc. N. T., p. 318. This is confirmed by the gloss. i. in essaia profeta. Ipsi in me.—Et qui non uident me ipsi credent et uiuent, R.

4. Scripsisti.—The Epistle of Abgarus, as given by Eusebius, contained an invitation to our Lord to take refuge in Edessa from the persecution of the Jews; adding that the city, although small, was beautiful, and would be sufficient for both:—καὶ γὰρ ἤκουσα ὅτι καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καταγογγύζουσί σου καὶ βούλονται κακῶσαι σε. πόλις δὲ μικροτάτη μοι ἐστὶ καὶ σμενῇ, ἥτις ἐξαρκεῖ ἀμφοτέροις.—Euseb. Hist. Eccl., lib. i. c. 13.

5. Venirem.—Veniam, R.

propter quae misus sum hic explere. posteaquam complevero recipi me ad eum a quo misus sum. cum ergo fuero assumptus mittam tibi aliquem ex discipulis meis qui curet egritudinem tuam et vitam tibi atque his qui tecum sunt prestat.

10

Domine Domine deperde nos a malis et custodi nos in bonis ut
primus filii tui hic et in futuro, Amen. Saluator omnium
Christe perpece in nos ihesu et miferere nobis.

Gloss.—6. *Hic*.—i. in iudea vel in hierusalem, vel in hoc mundo. 7. *Complevero*.—i. leges et prophetias. 7. *Recipi me*.—i. in ascensionem. *Ad eum*.—i. ad patrem. *Misus*.—i. in humanitate, i. ad salvandum mundum. 8. *Assumptus*.—i. a patre in celum. *Mittam*.—i. ad te. *Tibi*.—i. abgare. *Aliquem*.—i. tatheum. *Discipulis*.—i. ex apostolis. 9. *Tuam*.—i. abgare. *Vitam*.—i. perennem et doctrinam et sanitatem. *Tecum sunt*.—i. in fide christiana.

6. *Posteaquam*.—Et posteaquam implevero, R.

7. *Ad eum*.—Ab eo, R. *Misus*—The S. Isidore MS. reads *Missus*.

8. *Aliquem*.—The gloss says i. *tatheum*. So the name Thaddæus is given in Ruffin's translation of Eusebius: in the original (*loc. cit.*) he is called Θαδδαῖον τὸν ἀπόστολον ἕνα τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα. This cannot mean that Thaddæus, one of the 70, was also one of the Twelve Apostles, and Eusebius, therefore, must have called him an apostle in a secondary sense, as having been the Apostle of Edessa. He expressly distinguishes him from the Twelve Apostles, but says that others were called Apostles, lib. i. c. 12. See Tillemont, *Mémoires*, tom. i., p. 360, and note 5, p. 613. St. Jerome (*in S. Matth.* c. x. 4) fell into the mistake of confounding this Thaddæus with the Apostle of the same name; and others have been led into the same error. Bede corrects it, *Retract.* in *Acta Apost.*, c. x. It is probable that the author of the gloss followed Jerome, when he interprets "ex discipulis" by "ex apostolis." The

Hymn of St. Cummain Fota, line 23 (see above, p. 77), also follows Jerome. The Menology of the Greek Church identifies Thaddæus of Edessa with the Apostle Jude, or Thaddæus, the brother of our Lord: καὶ πρὸς Ἀνταρον τοπάρχην πορευθεὶς ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς νόσου.—*Men. Græc.* ad 19 Jun. *Qui curet*.—Ut curet, R. Ut qui curat, S. Isidore MS.

9. *Egritudinem*.—Abgarus in his Epistle had asked our Lord to come and heal him: "et ægritudinem meam, qua jamdiu laboro, curare."

10. *Prestet*.—The S. Isidore MS. adds here, "Salvus erit sicut scriptum est qui credit in me salvus erit."

Domine, Domine.—The prayers which follow are in the angular character already frequently spoken of. They seem to show that this Letter to Abgarus was read in the ancient Irish Church as a Lesson in some office. In the upper margin of the MS. there are some sentences, which do not appear to have had any connexion with the text. They have been greatly mutilated

Euangelium domini nortēri iheru chiriṣṣi liberet nos, protegat nos, custodiat nos, defendat nos, ab omni malo, ab omni periculo, ab omni langore, ab omni dolore, ab omni plaga, ab omni inuidia, ab omnibus iniquorum diabuli et malorum hominum hic et in futuro. Amen.

by the plough of the binder. The following words are all that are now legible:—

"custodis nostram sicut de anima christiana dicitur. Omnis caro fenum est, et reliqua" [Is. xl. 6]. "Sed gloria eius filiæ regis ab intus, nam extrinsecus maledicta et per ntiones et detractones permittuntur de quibus tamen in celis merces æterna est quæ sentitur in corde patientium eorum qui iam possunt ut dicitur . . . glori . . . in tribulationibus. *Hif.* illa maledictio beatitudinem creat."

The word *Hif.* is a contraction for *Hieronymus*; the passage alluded to occurs in S. Jerome's Comment. on S. Matt. v. 11, "Illud maledictum contemnendum est quod beatitudinem creat, quod falso maledicentis ore profertur."

After the foregoing sheets had been worked off, the writer had the privilege of visiting Rome, and was kindly permitted to collate the Donegal copy of the *Liber Hymnorum* in the Convent of S. Isidore, which is undoubtedly the MS. quoted by Colgan, and of which a full account will be found in the Appendix to this Fasciculus.

This MS. gives the concluding prayers or collects, after the Epistle, thus:—

"Domine, Domine, defende nos a malis et custodi nos in bonis, ut simus filii tui hic et in futuro, qui regnas in secula seculorum.

"Evangelium Domini nostri Jesu Christi liberet nos, protegat nos, custodiat nos, visitet nos, defendat nos, ab omni malo, ab omni plaga, ab omni langore, ab omni dolore, ab omni perturbatione, ab omni periculo, ab omni invidia, ab omnibus insidiis diaboli et malorum hominum hic et in futuro."

The Irish Preface to the Epistle of Christ in the S. Isidore MS. is as follows: it is in some places illegible. The Editor has marked by dots the passages which he has been unable to decipher:—

beatū ep. iḥr xṣr pēit hanc epistolam. Dia paba rex edirae ciuitatis qui dolorem petri habuit. Cotucab episcopi uab eo episcopi conuincit dia acallam occurbiat. Occur ue... tacheur ipm episcopi dorum iapocerrab episcopi. Occur ipse mo. Occur ataat in edira in episcopi 7 corop cap imbia co baib opbaib. Occur 3 nachnepe tēcda bich pūpe [et piupe] nuape ipm tūm.

Which may be thus translated:

Beatus es. JESUS CHRIST made this epistle: for there was a king of the city of Edessa, who had a malady in the foot: and a letter was brought from him to Christ, requesting that He would come to converse with and heal him. And Thaddæus . . . the epistle unto him after the crucifixion of Christ. And it was he . . . and they are in Edessa . . . the epistle was, and . . . and . . .

XIX. THE HYMN OF ST. FIACC, IN PRAISE OF ST. PATRICK.

THIS Hymn was first printed by Colgan. He gives it in his *Trias Thaumaturga* under the title of "Hymnus, seu Vita Prima S. Patricii Hiberniæ Apostoli, S. Fieco Episcopo Sleptensi Authore,"—it having been regarded by him as the earliest of the seven Lives of St. Patrick which he had collected; although it was evidently never intended by its author as a "Life" properly so called, but only a Poetical Panegyric upon the Saint.

Colgan has published it in the original Irish, with a Latin translation in parallel columns; and, although subsequent editors have not scrupled to criticise and alter his translation, none of them has pretended to correct his text from any MS. authority, or suggested anything better than conjectural, and sometimes ignorant, emendations.

There is, therefore, in reality no existing printed text of this Hymn of any authority, except that published by Colgan, which was taken from his copy of the Book of Hymns¹ now preserved at the Franciscan College of S. Isidore, in Rome. Dr. O'Connor's edition² does not profess to have been collated with any other MS. of the original, and is, in fact, only a reprint of Colgan's text. The same remark will apply to the only other printed copy which has appeared with any pretensions to editorial scholarship, viz., that published by Henry Leo (*Halis Saxonum*, 1845), on the occasion of a declaration of successful competitors for Prizes "in certamine literario," proposed in honour of the birth day of Frederick William IV., King of Prussia. This work (which does not appear to have obtained a prize) is

¹ *Hymns*.—"Extat in pervetusto codice opusculorum aliquot sanctorum Hiberniæ (qui *Liber Hymnorum* inscribitur) ex quo ipsum desumpsimus."—*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 6.

² *Edition*.—*Rer. Hib. Scriptt. Prolegom.*,

part i., p. 83, sq. O'Connor entitles this Hymn "Carmen vetus Hibernicum, quod Fieco, &c., tribuitur, . . . ex Codice vetustissimo *Dun-gallense*." The MS. at S. Isidore's is entitled in a hand of the seventeenth century, "Ex li-

entitled "Commentatio de Carmine vetusto Hibernico in S. Patricii laudem." It consists of a minute analysis of the original text, with a translation, in which the author does not display any exact acquaintance either with Irish grammar or with Irish history.

The other editions and attempted translations of the Hymn, which have appeared in this country, add nothing to the illustration of it, philologically or historically, and do not require any detailed notice¹. They are all taken

bris de conventus [*sic*] de Dunnagall." This is on the lower margin of p. 3.

¹ Notice.—The following is a list of all these editions with which the editor is acquainted:—

1. Vallancey, in the first edition of his Irish Grammar (*Dublin*, 4^o, 1773), has printed this Hymn (p. 166 sq.) with Colgan's Latin Translation. O'Reilly, in his account of Irish writers (*Trans. Ibero-Celtic Soc.*, p. xxxiii), says that this Hymn was printed "in the first edition of Vallancey's Irish Grammar, with a faulty English translation." But this English translation is not to be found in the copies of the first edition of Vallancey's Grammar which are now preserved in the public libraries of Dublin, nor has the Editor ever seen it; and there is reason to suspect that the sheets which contained it were cancelled by the author (after its errors were discovered), to make room for Colgan's Latin version. In the second edition of the Grammar, printed in 8vo, Vallancey has omitted Fiacc's Hymn altogether.

2. Mr. Patrick Lynch, in the Appendix to his *Life of St. Patrick* (*Dublin*, 1810, 8^o), p. 328, has printed this Hymn in the original Irish, with an English translation of his own, and Colgan's Latin Version. Mr. O'Reilly (*loc. cit.*) calls this "a correct English translation;" but it is very far from being so.

3. The Rt. Rev. Dr. Coyle, a Roman Catholic bishop in Ireland, in a work called "The Pious Miscellany" (*Dublin*, 1831, 12^o), of which the first vol. only was published, has printed St.

Fiacc's Hymn, in the original Irish, with a loose metrical English version (p. 46, sq.).

4. Mr. Martin A. O'Brennan, "LL. D., Member of the Honorable Society of Queen's Inns," has published this Hymn in the original Irish, with an English translation and copious notes, in vol. 1., p. 484, of a work, the first volume of which is entitled, "O'Brennan's Antiquities," and the second, "A School History of Ireland, from the Days of Partholan to the Present Day." *Dublin*, 8^o (*sine anno*). The dedication of the second edition of vol. 1., "To his Grace the Most Rev. John Mac Hale," is dated "April, 1848."

5. O'Reilly (*ubi supra*) states that in 1792 [1791] this Hymn was published by Richard Plunket, "a neglected genius of the county Meath, who, in pages opposite to the original text, gave a version into modern Irish." This is an exceedingly rare tract, 8vo. pp. 32. The first page is blank; then follow two titles, one in English and the other Irish, on opposite pages. The English title is this: "An Hymn on the Life of St. Patrick: extracted, from the antient Scytho-Celtic dialect, into Modern Irish, by Richard Plunket, late Translator of the New Testament into Irish, who has now the Manuscript in his possession. *Dublin*. Printed in the year M,DCC,XCI." The Irish title is: "Himhin Phadrúig Absdal. Do cumadh re Feiche Easbug Shleibhte, a gcondae na Banrioghna, disciobal agas fear combhairsire do Padraig fein. Air na mhineadh go deighneach san nuaghghaoi-

from Colgan's Text and Version; some with arbitrary alterations of the original, and translations which, so far as they differ from Colgan's, may be described as the offspring, for the most part, of presumptuous ignorance.

In the ancient Scholium, or Preface, prefixed to this Hymn, Fiacc¹ of Slebte, or Slebhte, is unhesitatingly pronounced to be its author. This ecclesiastic, who was honoured as a saint in the Irish Church on the 12th of October², was descended from Cathair Mór (*Cathirius Magnus*, as O'Flaherty³ Latinizes the name), who became monarch of Ireland, A. D. 174, and was killed in the battle of Tailte⁴ (now Teltown, in Meath), A. D. 177. Fiacc's descent from this king of Ireland may be gathered from the Scholium or Preface to the Hymn as printed by Colgan, thus:

Cathair Mór,
|
Daire Barrach,
|
Bregan.
|
Erc.
|
Fiacc, of Slebhte.

dhilig, *Re RIOSTARD PLUNCEAD*. A mbeulatheliath an na chur a gelo san mblíadhan M.DCC.XCI." Then follows the Hymn in the ancient Irish, as given by Colgan, with a translation on the opposite page into the modern Irish of the peasantry, ending on p. 11. On pp. 12 and 13 are an English and Irish title to S. Brogan's Life of S. Bridget, with the Hymn in Colgan's text, and a translation into vulgar Irish as before, to p. 25. Page 26 is blank; and p. 27 is a title-page: "Short Directions for reading Irish, intended for those who can speak and understand the language. By Richard Plunket, late translator of the New Testament into Irish, who has now that manuscript in his possession. Dublin: Printed in the year M.DCC.XCI." This ends on p. 31, and p. 32 contains a list of Richard Plunket's works, in nine articles.

¹ *Fiacc*.—His name is written by Colgan *Fiecus*, and by Lanigan, Petrie, and others, *Fiech*. It has been so written in the early

pages of this work. In the Book of Armagh the name is written *Feec*, *Fiacc*, and *Feccus*. The final c is never aspirated. Colgan has made this remark (*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 7, col. 2, not. 2). In the Life of St. Patrick by Probus (*ib.* i. c. 41; Colgan, p. 51), St. Fiacc is called *Phieh*, or *Pheg*, as Ussher more correctly gives the name in quoting this passage, *Works*, vol. vi. p. 410, *Elrington's edit.* Although the name is written *Fiac* in the Book of Lecan and some other ancient authorities, the true spelling is *Fiacc*, which is the same as *Fiag*. The Welsh equivalent is *Gwyech*.

² *October*.—His name occurs at this date (together with those of his son Fiachra, and Mobi Clairenech of Glasnevin) in the ancient *Felire*, or Festilogium, of Aengus the Culdee, a composition of the ninth century. See also *Mart. of Donegal*, p. 273.

³ *O'Flaherty*.—Ogyg., Part iii. c. 59, p. 310. Conf. Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 22, note.

⁴ *Tailte*.—See *Leabhar na gCeart*, or Book

Daire Barrach was the ancestor of the tribe of *Ui Bairrche*¹ (or "Descendants of Barrach"), the chieftain of which clan assumed the name of Mac Gorman in later times, after the introduction of surnames: and the church of *Sléhte* now Slaty, or Sletty, is situated in the Queen's County, about two miles N. N. W. of the town of Carlow, in the midst of the country then inhabited by the tribe² just mentioned.

The Dublin Book of Hymns adds another generation, if we have rightly interpreted the words "*In Fiac sin mc éside mc Ercha, mc Bregain*," to signify that this Fiacc was the son of the son of Erc, son of Bregan, or Breacan. But even with this addition, the foregoing genealogy is manifestly inconsistent with the age usually assigned to St. Fiacc. The narrative which makes him to have been consecrated a bishop by St. Patrick, assumes that he must have been of mature age, about A.D. 448³, or upwards of 270 years after the death of Cathair Mór, if we adopt the chronology of O'Flaherty, and 326 years, if we are guided by the Four Masters. This is altogether too long a period for the number of generations which the above genealogy has placed between Fiacc and his royal ancestor; and necessarily leads to the conclusion, either that some intermediate generations have been omitted, or that the reign of Cathair Mór is antedated in our annals: for the only remaining alternative, that St. Fiacc lived before the age of St. Patrick, is manifestly untenable.

The supposition of an error in the number of the generations is rendered probable by the discrepancy in at least one of the names in the genealogy as it is given in the Preface to this Poem in the Dublin Book of Hymns, and as it is found in the *Genealogia Sanctorum*, or *Sanctilogium Genealogicum* (as Colgan calls it), in the Book of Lecan. In the Dublin Book of Hymns, the son of Daire Barrach is named Bregan; in the *Genealogia Sanctorum*, he is named Fiac, or Fiacc; and that these were in reality two, and not the same individual⁴,

of Rights, p. 205. The Four Masters give as the site of this battle Magh hAgha, which is probably a place near Tailte. They have the reign of Cathair Mór A.D. 120-122. The dates A.D. 174-177 are O'Flaherty's.

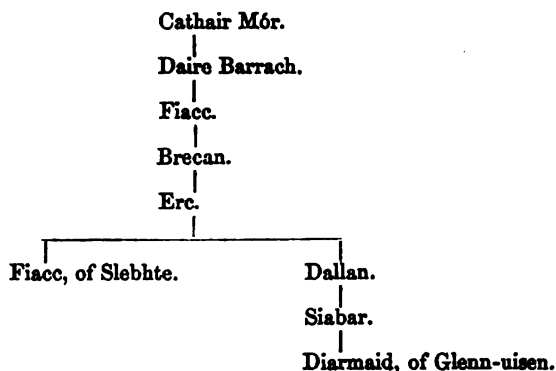
¹ *Ui Bairrche*.—See *Leabhar na gCeart*, or *Book of Rights*, and Dr. O'Donovan's notes, p. 192, sq. Eithnea, the mother of St. Columba, was also of the *Ui Bairrche*.—Reeves, *Adamnan*, pp. 8, 163, notes.

² *Tribe*.—This district was called *Omagy*, the Anglicized pronunciation of *Ui mBairrche*, signifying the country of the *Ui Bairrche*, or Descendants of Barrach. *Sléhte* signifies "mountainous."

³ *About A.D. 448*.—This is the date assigned by Ussher to the ordination of St. Fiacc, *Index Chron.* (Works, tom. vi., p. 571, Elrington's ed.).

⁴ *Individual*.—Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 8, n. 4.

is evident from the genealogy of St. Diarmaid (or Modimog, as he was sometimes called), of Glenn-uisen¹, who was of the same family, and whose descent from Cathair Mór is given² in eight generations inclusive, in which we have Fiacc, son of Daire Barrach, and Brecan, or Bregan, the son of Fiacc, so that we have thus an approximation to a more correct genealogy, showing the relationship of both saints, as follows:—



It may be observed also that the same authority gives two distinct genealogies of St. Fiacc, in one of which his father is called *Erc*³—gen. *Erca* (as in the *Book of Hymns*), and in the other his father is *Erchad*⁴—gen. *Erchada*, son of Erc. Assuming that a generation was here again omitted (an error that would be facilitated by the similarity of the names), Fiacc will appear in the seventh generation from Cathair Mór, inclusive: thus,—

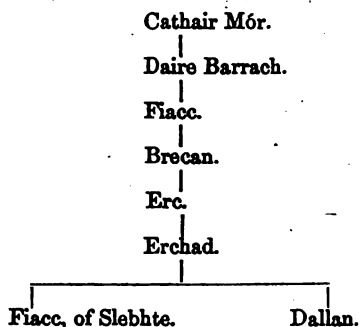
¹ *Glenn-uisen*.—Now Killeslin, in the Queen's County, near Carlow: not Glen or Glin in the King's County, as Archdall conjectures.—See Four Mast. at A.D. 842, and Dr. O'Donovan's note.

² *Given*.—Sanctilog. Geneal. Book of Lecan, fol. 49 b., col. 1. It is remarkable that in another copy of the genealogy of St. Diarmaid, given in the same tract (fol. 53 b., col. 4) the names of Erc and Brecan or Bregan are omitted: thus, "Diarmaid, i. e. Modimog of Glenn-uisen, s. of Siabarr; s. of Dallan; s. of Fiacc; s. of Daire Barrach; s. of Cathair Mór." Here two generations of the for-

mer line are wanting. This proves that errors existed in the pedigrees of this race; and we know that omissions of this kind are frequent in all genealogies.

³ *Erc*.—B. of Lecan, fol. 54, b. col. 2, thus: "Fiacc of Slebte, s. of Erc; s. of Fiacc; s. of Daire Barrach; s. of Cathair Mór."

⁴ *Erchad*.—Ibid., fol. 48, a. col. 4, thus: "Fiacc of Sleibhte, s. of Erchad; s. of Fiacc; s. of Daire; s. of Cathair." It will be observed, however, that in both these genealogies Brecan is omitted, as if he was considered to be the same as Fiacc, s. of Daire Barrach.



This confirms our interpretation of the genealogy as given in the Dublin Book of Hymns, which makes Fiacc the grandson of Erc, or son of Mac Erca. There is reason, however, to suspect a further error. For in the genealogies of the families descended from Daire Barrach, as given in the Book of Lecan¹, there is the following statement :—

17 o mac Erca .i. Fiacc mac Dara Erpoc Slebhthe.	It is from Mac Erca that Fiacc, son of Dara, bishop of Slebhthe, [descends].
---	---

This seems to say that Fiacc was the son of Dara, and descended from Mac Erca, or Erc's son. Here we have one additional generation, supposing Dara to have been the son of Erchad Mac Erca; but it is quite as probable that two or more generations may have intervened; for in the Book of Leinster² where there is an entry corresponding to the above, Fiacc is said to have been the son of the son of Dara :—

17 6 mac meic Erca .i. Fiacc erpoc Slebhthe .i. mac meic Dara.	It is from the son of the son of Erc, i. e. Fiacc, bishop of Slebhthe, i. e. son of the son of Dara.
---	---

Discrepancies of this kind, which manifestly exist in these records, prove that the chronological difficulty of the genealogy may be altogether the result of errors in the transcription³. We may therefore assume that St. Fiacc, of

¹ *Book of Lecan*.—Fol. 97 a., col. 1.

² *Book of Leinster*.—Fol. 219 a. See also Book of Ballymote, fol. 73 b.

³ *Transcription*.—The same considerations will enable us to correct the genealogy of St. Ethne, mother of St. Columba (see Reeves'

Adamnan, p. 8), which is also too short for the chronology, she being sixth in descent from the same Mac Erca, who was the grandfather or great-grandfather of St. Fiacc. But her genealogy, as given in the *Sanct. Geneal.* and also in the *Felire of Aengus* (at June 9),

Slebhthe, according to the legend recorded in the preface to the following Hymn, may have been descended from Cathair Mór perhaps in the ninth or tenth generation, and therefore a contemporary of St. Patrick. The date assigned by Ussher to St. Fiacc's ordination is, as we have already said, 448. At that time he must have been about thirty years of age; for although we cannot, perhaps, argue that he could not in Ireland have been canonically consecrated a bishop if under that age, it is most probable that his son Fiachra had been born before Fiacc was admitted to holy orders: and he himself must therefore have been of mature age at that time. Assuming these premises, the year 418 will be about the year of his birth; and if he survived St. Patrick, whose death is generally dated 493, he may have lived to be about the age of 80 or 90. In this there is nothing improbable or actually incredible; and there remain no grounds for disturbing the Chronological place assigned to Fiacc of Slebhthe, in the traditions of the Irish Church, as a contemporary and disciple of St. Patrick.

We must now examine the question of the authenticity of the Hymn. Can it be regarded as a composition of this remote antiquity? Is it possible to receive it as the work of the St. Fiacc who was consecrated a bishop by St. Patrick?

The celebrated Jesuit, Father Daniel Papebroch¹, one of the Bollandist collectors of the great *Acta Sanctorum*, has refused it a place in his collection of the Lives of St. Patrick, because he considered it impossible², from internal

omits all mention of Mac Erca, owing, no doubt, to the same similarity of names which has occasioned the confusion in the case of St. Fiacc. If St. Columba was born A.D. 521 (Reeves, *ibid.*, p. lxix), the birth of his mother cannot have been much before A.D. 500, or 323 years after the death of Cathair Mór. It is curious that Dr. Reeves (*ibid.*, p. 164, n.), when he adopted the common genealogy, which makes St. Fiacc fourth in descent from Daire Barrach, did not perceive the chronological difficulty; and yet he assumes the early date A.D. 120 of the reign of Cathair Mór (p. 8, note), by which that difficulty is increased.

¹ Papebroch.—The *Comment. Præv.* on the Life of St. Patrick in the *Acta SS.* of the Bollandists is anonymous; but Father Byens, in his Life of St. Fiacc, says expressly that Daniel Papebroch was the author—a name of high authority.—*Act. SS.* Oct., tom. vi. *De S. Fieco. Comm. præv.* num. 3 (p. 97, C).

² Impossible.—His words are: "Hymnum autem jam dictum libenter nos quoque hic daremus: sed fateamur ingenue vereri nos ne non ipsius Fieci sit, ejus saltem qui primus Sleptiis a S. Patricio est constitutus episcopus."—*Act. SS. Martii*, tom. ii. p. 520 A. But the Hymn is ancient, and ought to have been given.

evidence, that the Hymn could really have been written by a contemporary of St. Patrick; and this decision has been endorsed by a later Bollandist, Cornelius Byeus, the learned compiler of the Life of St. Fiacc, at the 12th of October¹.

The arguments adduced by these authors, against the great antiquity attributed to this Hymn, are as follows:—

First,—It can scarcely be supposed that a contemporary of St. Patrick could have written the first line of the Hymn, “Patrick was born at Nemthur, as has been related in histories.” This reference to *histories* implies such an interval in time between the author of the Hymn and the age of St. Patrick, as would make the name of his birth-place, and the actions of his life, matter of history: “vix inducimur” (says Papebroch) “ut Patricianas vitas statim a morte scriptas intelligamus, eo nomine”².

Colgan appears to have felt this difficulty, although he does not state it in express terms; but he anticipates it by his note on the passage, where he admits that the words, “as is recorded in histories,” imply the existence of “Acts” of St. Patrick before the composition of the Hymn; he argues, however, that this creates no difficulty, because Jocelin (writing about 1185) mentions four lives of the saint written during his lifetime by his contemporaries and disciples³, St. Loman, St. Mel, St. Benean, or Benignus, and St. Patrick, junior.

Another passage in which “histories” are alluded to, is ver. 12, where the author says that St. Patrick read the Canons with St. German, “as histories relate,” ‘*sicut testantur historiae*’ (for so Colgan correctly⁴ translates the words).

In reply to these objections, Mr. Patrick Lynch⁵, in his Life of St. Patrick, suggests that our author never quotes *histories*, except when he has occasion to record those events of St. Patrick’s life which had taken place in foreign

¹ October.—Actt. SS. Oct., tom. vi. p. 103.

² *Nomine*.—Actt. SS. Martii, tom. ii. p. 520.

³ *Disciples*.—Colgan, Trias Thaum., p. 6, not. 3. “*Ut in historiis refertur*, c. 1. Indicat acta Patricii esse ante se scripta, et recte: quia quatuor alii discipuli ipsius S. Patricii, nempe S. Lomanus, S. Mel, S. Benignus, et S. Patricius junior scripserunt acta Patricii ante, ut testatur Jocelin, c. 186, vivente etiam adhuc ipso Patricio.”

⁴ *Correctly*.—The old word *lne*, or *lmi* is rightly translated “*historiæ*” by Colgan. Lynch, without any authority, reads *lmne*, the plural of *lan* [which ought to be *lann*], *with us*; and Dr. O’Conor tells us that *lne* is *ecclesiæ*. He translates, “*Est ita testantur ecclesiæ*.” *Rer. Hib. Scriptt.*, tom. i.; *Proleg.*, part. i. p. xci. But the plural of *lann*, a church, would be *lanna*, not *lne*.

⁵ *Lynch*.—Life of St. Patrick, p. 327.

countries, before Fiacc became known to his master. In the first line he refers to *histories* (pcéla), to establish St. Patrick's birth-place; in the twelfth line, as translated by Colgan, he cites *histories* (lín) to prove St. Patrick's residence in the islands of the Tyrrhene, or Mediterranean Sea, and his ecclesiastical education under St. German.

It should be observed that the word *pcél* (ver. 1), translated by Colgan history, denotes any story, tale, or narrative, handed down by tradition, written or unwritten, true or false. But the other word *linea* (ver. 12) seems to imply writing; and the fact remains that the author of this Hymn has referred to extant tales, or stories, traditions, and writings, as authority for certain facts in the Life and Acts of St. Patrick; the improbability therefore continues in all its force that such narratives (whether they recorded the acts of the saint abroad or at home) could have been circulated, so as to have been well known and quoted by a contemporary of the saint, in the manner in which our author cites them. It might be thought that Fiacc's own testimony, if he had been personally acquainted with St. Patrick, would have been better than the testimony of any tales and stories, acts or lives, for such facts as the place of the Saint's birth, or his early travels and education. It is impossible to believe that a contemporary, who had been himself acquainted with his hero, could have referred to any tales, stories, traditions, or histories, written or unwritten, in confirmation of his statements.

Secondly,—Father Papebroch objects that it is difficult to believe how an author, who had been personally acquainted with St. Patrick, could have introduced into his poem so many legends manifestly fabulous¹.

It is curious that Dr. Lanigan gives an opposite judgment. He says, "In the former," meaning Fiacc's Hymn, "which, as already observed, has a claim to very high antiquity, the narrative runs smooth and regular; nor do we find in it any of those ridiculous miracles that disgrace some of the later Lives"².

¹ *Fabulous*.—"Vix inducimur ut . . . intelligamus . . . tam familiarem ipsi sancto poetam tam multa fabulam redolentia huic suo carmini inseruisse."—*Actt. SS. Mart.*, tom. ii., 520 B.

² *Lives*.—*Eccl. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 80 (2nd edit.). Lanigan, however, does not maintain that this hymn was written by the Fiacc

who was a contemporary of St. Patrick; for in another place (to which he refers in the words above quoted) he says: "The Bollandists and some other judicious critics doubt of his (Fiacc's) being the author of it. But it does not follow that it is not very antient, and most probably not later than the seventh, or perhaps the sixth century."—*Ibid.*, p. 57, 8.

Nevertheless, the following miracles are mentioned in the Hymn:—The permanent impression of the angel's feet on a rock (ver. 8); apparitions of angels summoning St. Patrick to return to Ireland (ver. 14); the voices of the children in Connaught, heard by him in a distant country, calling upon him to come to their aid (ver. 16); the prophecies of his coming by the druids of Ireland (ver. 19-22); his extraordinary austerities, singing 100 psalms every night, standing in a well, and sleeping upon the hard stone, covered only with his wet garments (ver. 26-32); healing the blind and lepers, and bringing the dead to life (ver. 34); the burning bush in which the angel appeared to him, and foretold the supremacy of Armagh, and the privileges granted to the recitation of St. Sechnall's hymn (ver. 48-52); the sun standing still, in imitation of the miracle of Joshua (ver. 55-60); &c. These miracles, however, it may be said, are many of them imitations of miracles recorded in Scripture; they are such miracles as were, in that age, naturally attributed to the saint, and easily believed to have been performed by him, even among his immediate disciples; and, as Dr. Lanigan justly observes, they are not of the same "ridiculous" character¹, as some of the miracles which "disgrace the later lives."

We may, therefore, reasonably doubt whether this argument of the learned Bollandist is conclusive; for it is certain that miracles, quite as incredible as these, have at all times, down to our own "enlightened" age, been attributed to individuals eminent for sanctity, even by those who were their companions and personal acquaintances: so that the insertion of such marvels in the biography of a saint is not of itself an absolute proof that the author lived at a period long subsequent to the age of his hero. Dr. Lanigan's argument is more sound—that the comparatively moderate character of these miracles, as contrasted with the extravagant marvels of the later lives, must be regarded as an evidence of the higher antiquity of this Hymn, even though we may hesitate to admit that it was written by a contemporary of St. Patrick.

¹ *Ridiculous character.*—For example, his lighting a fire with icicles instead of sticks; *Jocel.*, c. 5; the water congealing in a kettle, notwithstanding the fire heaped around it, *ib.*, c. 20; his stone super-altar floating on the sea, and carrying a leper after the ship, c. 27; the same altar following him through the air, c. 55; the kid bleating from the stomach of the man who had stolen and eaten it, and

afterwards restored to its owner uninjured, &c. &c. Papebroch has rejected a great many of these miracles, and thrown them into his Appendix to the *Acta S. Patricii* (tom. ii. Martii, § III., p. 584). "In qua" (as *Byeus* says) "una cum æquâ juxta ac acri, qua ibidem, § III., perstringuntur, censurâ, innoxie legi possent." *Act. SS. Oct.*, tom. vi. (ad 12 Oct., p. 98, E.).

Thirdly. The apparent allusions to the desolation of Tara (ver. 20 and 44), an event¹ which did not take place until after the year 560, is evidence that the Hymn could not have been written before the latter half of the sixth century.

If, therefore, St. Fiacc, of Slebhite, was the author, he must have lived to an age considerably beyond the ordinary term of human life. We are reduced to the necessity of attributing this Hymn to a writer, who must have flourished at the latter end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century, unless we are prepared to admit that St. Fiacc died at the advanced age of nearly a century and a half; or else to adopt the alternative, which Colgan prefers, of believing the allusion to the desolation of Tara to be a really inspired prediction² of that event.

Fourthly,—To these arguments it may be added that the author lived after the Hymn of St. Sechnall had become popular, and its use, as a *Lorica*, or protection against spiritual dangers to those who recited it, had been recognised; and also after the story of Patrick having obtained the privilege of being himself the Judge of the Irish at the Day of Judgment was invented³. This is evident from lines 51, 52, where the angel, who appeared to him in the bush, is introduced as announcing that his petitions were granted:

He [the angel] said, Primacy shall be at Armagh; give thanks to Christ.

To heaven shalt thou come, thy prayers are granted to thee:

The Hymn thou hast chosen in thy lifetime shall be a corslet of protection to every one:

Around thee, in the day of judgment, the men of Erin shall come to judgment.

¹ *Event*.—See the authorities for the cursing of Tara by St. Ruadan, or Rodan, of Lorrha, collected by Dr. Petrie, *Hist. and Antiq. of Tara Hill*, p. 125 (*Transact. Royal Irish Acad.*, vol. xviii., part 2).

² *Prediction*.—Papebroch says: "Qui [sc. Colganus] ne amittat auctorem, aut ipsum plus æquo annosum faciat, ista hymni verba in quibus de Temoris desolatione, post annum DLX factâ, agitur, prophetico spiritu dicta tanquam de re futurâ mavult credere; nobis autem explicatione tam violentâ auget formidinem prædictam" [formidinem, sc. ne non ipsius Fieci sit]. Colgan's words are as

follows:—"Observandum quod hic dicit S. Fiecus de desertâ vel deserendâ Temoriâ, certum propheticumque fuisse oraculum; vel si suo tempore vidit Temoriam desertam ipsum produxisse vitam usque ad annum 540" [*leg.* 560]; "quod mihi non probatur, cum fuerit florentis ætatis sub adventu Patricii anno 432, &c." *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 6, not. 16. But the allusions to the desolation of Tara are evidently references to an event past, and do not pretend to be predictions of the future.

³ *Invented*.—See above, p. 22, note. It will be observed that nothing of this sort is to be found in the Hymn of St. Sechnall.

We have here manifestly the germ of the legend given more fully by Probus¹, or the author of the fifth life in Colgan's Collection; and there exists what is, perhaps, a still more ancient summary of the privileges of St. Patrick, in Tirechan's Annotations on the saint's life, compiled in the seventh century, and preserved in the Book of Armagh.²

It is scarcely credible that legends of this character could have been current so soon after the death of St. Patrick as to be adopted by a contemporary and disciple; and it is probable that the enumeration of these privileges by Tirechan is an earlier form of the legend than that given in the Hymn by our author. For Tirechan makes no mention of the apparition of the angel in the bush, nor of St. Patrick's being appointed the Judge of the Irish. It is evident also, from the above-cited stanzas, that the Hymn before us must have been written after the question of the Primacy of Armagh had become a subject of debate; and it is not likely that this could have been the case in the lifetime of a contemporary of St. Patrick.

It is remarkable that some of the collections in the Book of Armagh, relating to the Life of Patrick (which are probably the originals from which the biography, attributed to Probus, and other similar works, were compiled) are attributed in that MS. to "Muirchu Maccumachtheni;" who, it is expressly said, wrote them at the dictation of a bishop of Slebhthe, "dictante Aiduo Slebtiensis civitatis episcopo". From this it may perhaps be inferred that

¹ *Probus*.—Lib. ii., c. 33.—*Triad. Thaum.*, p. 60.

² *Armagh*.—See above, p. 50 (where Tirechan's words are quoted); and Petrie, *Antiq. of Tara Hill*, p. 68.

Episcopo.—Lib. Ardmach., fol. 20, b., a. See Petrie, *Antiq. of Tara Hill*, p. 110 (Trans. Royal Irish Acad., vol. xviii., part ii.) Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 218, col. 1. The Aidus, Bishop of Slebhthe, here mentioned was, in all probability, the same whose death, under the name of "Aodh, anchorite of Sleibhte," is recorded by the Four Mast. A.D. 698: where see O'Donovan's notes. If so, Muirchu Maccumachtheni must be regarded as an author of the seventh century. The Annals of

Ulster record the death of Aedh, at 699, in these words: *Quies Aedo amachorite o Sleibtiu*. Tighernach has the same words at A. D. 700. Dr. Reeves has given a curious extract from the Book of Armagh, showing the zeal of this Aedh bishop of Sletty for the church of Armagh; *Adamnan*, Additional Notes, p. 323, n. 4. This, taken in connexion with the passages of the hymn above cited, advocating the primacy of Armagh, is an additional evidence that the Hymn belongs to the times of Bp. Aedh (A. D. 700), rather than to those of Fiacc, the disciple of St. Patrick. The genealogy of Aedh has been preserved. He was of the same family as St. Fiacc; and it is remarkable that his pedigree is defective

St. Fiacc had left to the safe keeping of his successors in that see some valuable historical collections, or traditions relating to St. Patrick; these are, very probably, the "*histories*" referred to by the author of the Hymn now before us, and it is not unlikely that the Hymn itself (having been compiled from the traditions of the church of Slebhite, derived from Fiacc, the disciple of St. Patrick), came to be attributed to Fiacc himself as its author.

Fifthly,—One of the most plausible arguments for the antiquity of the Hymn is derived from the antiquity of the Scholiast, or author of the Preface and notes, who, Colgan maintains, must have flourished before the close of the sixth century. The testimony, therefore, of so early an author, who asserts, without hesitation, that the hymn was composed by St. Fiacc, of Slebhite, must necessarily be received with respect.

Colgan's reason for assigning so early a date to the Scholiast is this: The Preface states expressly that St. Fiacc, having been consecrated a bishop by St. Patrick, was soon afterwards made "Archbishop of Leinster"—*ap̄erpoꝝ l̄ngen*—and that his successors continued to enjoy that dignity ever since.

These words imply, says Colgan¹, that the successors of St. Fiacc continued to hold the archiepiscopal dignity in the time of our Scholiast; but we learn from

in the same way, and probably owing to the same cause—the accidental omission of names of similar sound. The genealogy is as follows (Book of Leinster, fol. 238 a):—"Bishop Aedh, s. of Brocan, s. of Cormac, s. of Diarmait, s. of Eochaidh Guineach, s. of Aongus, s. of Erc, s. of Breacan, s. of Fiacc, s. of Daire Barrach, s. of Cathair mór." On comparing this pedigree with that of St. Fiacc, it will be seen that the defect occurs in the same place as before, viz., between Erc and Aongus. For Eochaidh Guineach slew his maternal grandfather, Crimthan King of Leinster, A. D. 484, according to the Chron. Scotorum, dated by O'Flaherty; it is impossible, therefore, that he can have been only seventh in descent from Cathair mór. But the genealogy between bishop Aedh and Eochaidh Guineach, seems to be correct, and is quite consistent with the date assigned to the death

of Aedh, by the Annals of Ulster and Tigernach. Murchu Maccumachtheni was one of the ecclesiastics present at the synod of Adamnan, which exempted women from service in war; *circ.* A. D. 690. Reeves, *Adamnan, App. to Pref.*, p. l. and li., note e. See also Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.*, p. 218, col. 1. Actt. SS. p. 465 a., n. 31.

¹ Colgan.—"Hic autem obiter observa hujus Scholiastæ vetustatem, qui videtur floruisse ante sæculi sexti finem: nam verbis citatis indicat Successores S. Fieci fuisse Archiepiscopos Lageniæ usque ad sua tempora. Cogitosus autem Nepos S. Brigidæ, et qui floruit ante finem sæculi sexti, in Præfatione ad vitam ejusdem sanctæ Virginis, indicat Sedem Archiepiscopalem Lageniensium fuisse Kildariæ suo tempore: et author vitæ S. Maidoci (quam damus ad 31 Januarii) capite 28 ejusdem vitæ, scribit eandem Sedem fuisse per

Cogitosus, author of the Life of St. Bridget, that in his time (the latter half of the sixth century, as Colgan thought) Kildare was the archiepiscopal see of Leinster; and the author of the Life of St. Aedan, or Moedóg, states that Brandubh, King of Leinster, together with a synod of the province, had made Ferns the archiepiscopal see: a change which must have taken place before the end of the sixth century, because King Brandubh was slain in 601, according to the Annals of the Four Masters. The successors of St. Fiacc of Slebhite, therefore, cannot have continued archbishops much longer than about the middle of the sixth century, which, accordingly, fixes the date of the Scholiast.

To this Father Byeus¹, in his life of St. Fiacc, replies that the title of archbishop was not given to any bishops in Ireland, until the twelfth century; and, therefore, he concludes that the Scholiast, by giving that title to St. Fiacc, betrays the fact that he himself cannot have flourished before that period. Byeus appears to draw a similar inference from the title of *Archpoet*, given by the Scholiast to Dubhthach, the tutor of St. Fiacc, which, he says, "savours of the eleventh or twelfth century." But this very title ought to have led him to recognize his mistake; for by calling Dubhthach "*Archpoet* of Ireland," the Scholiast did not intend to say that Dubhthach held any office, or exercised any jurisdiction over the other poets of Ireland, but simply that he was the most eminent poet, or the chief poet of Ireland; and so, in like manner, when the Scholiast calls Fiacc *Archbishop*, the meaning is that he was the most eminent, or remarkable bishop of Leinster.

Brandubium Regem (qui occubuit anno 601), et synodum Lageniensium constitutam Fernæ. Idemque scribit Author vitæ S. Molingi, quam damus ad 17 Junii." *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 3, not. 3. The date of King Brandubh's death is given by the Four Mast. 601; by the Ann. Ult., 604; and by Tigernach (or rather by O'Flaherty, who has dated the Annals of Tigernach), 605. This last is no doubt the correct year.

¹ Byeus,—Actt. SS. ad 12 Oct., p. 98, num. 7. "At vero, etsi quidem inter Hiberniæ episcopos, semper aliqui, qui præ aliis quid amplioris dignitatis aut jurisdictionis ecclesias-

ticæ haberent, hincque recte dici possent *primates*, extiterint, ii tamen non prius quam sec. circiter xii, uti ad xvii Junii diem in Commentario actis S. Molingi Fernensis episcopi prævio, num. 3, jam docuimus, appellari cœperunt *archiepiscopi*; quare cum nihilominus S. Fieco *archiepiscopi* titulum, ac præterea Dubtacho, cujus ille discipulus extitisse perhibetur, honorificam *archipoetæ*, appellationem, quæ seculum xi. aut xii. sapit, attribuat S. Fiechi scholiastes, scriptorem hunc, ut jam statui, ante sec. vi. finem vel paulo duntaxat post floruisse, quis credat"? See *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 14, sq.

The mistake is one into which Colgan himself has fallen, and which impairs the validity of his argument on the other side; for the Scholiast does not use the ecclesiastical Greek title *Arch-bishop*, (which in its strict sense, as implying canonical jurisdiction over other bishops, was unknown in Ireland until the twelfth century), but *Ard-episcop*, high bishop; *Ard-file*, high poet—that is to say, chief or principal bishop, or poet, not in reference to jurisdiction, but in reference to respect or precedence. In this sense, there is nothing inconsistent in the supposition that there might be more than one *ard*-, or *chief*-bishop in a district; and, consequently, when our Scholiast calls the successors of St. Fiacc in Slebhite, *ard*, or *chief*-bishops, and says that they were so regarded down to his own day, it does not at all follow that the bishops of Kildare and Ferns may not have also been considered *ard*, or *chief* bishops, at the same time.

The passage in the Preface to the Life of St. Bridget, by Cogitosus, to which Colgan refers, is a remarkable evidence of this loose or rather ancient use of the term, even as it stands in Colgan's Latin Version. For the author tells us, not as Colgan represents his testimony, that Kildare was recently made the archiepiscopal see of Leinster, but that it had *always* been an archbishopric of Ireland, that is to say, a chief or principal bishopric of Ireland: his words¹ are,—“*Quam [sc. cathedram] semper Archiepiscopus Hiberniensium Episcoporum, et Abbatissa, quam omnes Abbatissæ Scottorum venerantur, felici successione, et ritu perpetuo dominantur.*” It is evident that Cogitosus must have here used the Irish word *ard-episcop*, chief bishop, not the modern ecclesiastical title *archbishop*, of which he could have known nothing: and the meaning of the foregoing passage was simply this, that the see, or *cathedra*, of Kildare was always governed by a bishop who was recognized as an *ard*, or *high* bishop [that is, as holding an eminent place among the Irish bishops], and by an abbess, who was regarded with veneration by all other abbesses of the Scots or Irish.

The Bishop of Kildare was *chief* amongst the bishops, in the same sense in which the Abbess of Kildare was *chief* amongst the abbesses of the Scotie nation; and it should be particularly noticed that this, he says expressly, had been *always* the case,—*semper*², i. e. from the very foundation of the monastery. It

¹ His words.—Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 518.

² *Semper*.—It is curious to read Colgan's note on the words, “*Quam semper Archiepis-*

copus Hiberniensium Episcoporum,” &c. He says, “*Non intelligit quod fuerit omnium Hibernorum*” [although Cogitosus expressly says so], “*sed solum Lageniensium Archie-*

is evident, therefore, that Cogitosus spoke only of a pre-eminence of dignity or respect, not of metropolitan or archiepiscopal jurisdiction; and such pre-eminence did not interfere with the same title of *ard-epsco*p, or archbishop (if we choose to translate it so) being given to other bishops at the same time, and even within the same district, such as Leinster.

This fallacy runs through all that Colgan has written on the subject; and has, in all probability, also unconsciously interfered with the exact fidelity of his translations from the Irish. For example, in translating the words of the Scholiast, in the Preface to the Hymn before us, he makes his author say,—“Et postea ab eodem [*sc. Patricio*] consecratus est [*Fiecus*] Episcopus, et tandem Lageniæ Archiepiscopus institutus: quo etiam munere ejus Comorbani, sive Successores abinde funguntur”¹. Here there is nothing in the original to represent the words *tandem institutus*, or *munere funguntur*, although honest Colgan, thinking only of the modern archiepiscopal function, doubtless believed that by this paraphrase he was only more fully expressing the meaning of his author. But the original says merely that Fiacc was ordained a bishop by St. Patrick, and from that time was regarded as a chief or eminent bishop, as were his successors after him.

The passage quoted by Colgan, from the Life of St. Moedóc of Ferns, has doubtless suffered in the same way from the prepossession of its translator, who probably lived at a period when the modern idea of an archbishop was better known. He tells us that a great synod held in Leinster by King Brandubh, in which the laity, as well as clergy, had seats, decreed, in honour of St. Moedóc, and, in reward for his services to the King, that the see of Ferns, then recently founded, should be thenceforth the Archbishopric of Leinster: “ut archiepiscopatus omnium Lagenensium semper esset in sede et cathedra S. Moedóc;” and, accordingly, the saint was then consecrated archbishop “by many Catholics”². But all this, most probably, means no more than that St.

piscopus. Nec hæc dignitas metropolitana semper Kildariæ fuit” [although Cogitosus says expressly that it was; using this very word *semper*]. Colgan then goes on to say that St. Fiacc, as bishop of Slebhite, was the first archbishop of Leinster; that then the metropolitan jurisdiction was transferred to Kildare; then to Ferns, and finally to Dublin,

where it still remains. But nothing can be more clear than that Cogitosus was not thinking of archiepiscopal or metropolitan jurisdiction, in the modern sense, in which the see of Dublin now possesses it. *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 17.

¹ *Funguntur*.—Triad. Thaum., p. 4, n. 1 a.

² *Catholics*.—Colgan, Actt. SS. ad 31 Jan.,

Moedóc and his successors should always be regarded as chief or eminent bishops¹.

It follows that Colgan's argument to prove that his Scholiast flourished in the sixth century, and the argument of Byeus, bringing him down to the twelfth, are both fallacious; both being founded on the same assumption that the title *ard-epsco*p, as used in Irish authorities, was equivalent to the later ecclesiastical term *Archbishop*, and implied canonical or metropolitan jurisdiction.

The opinion expressed by Papebroch², although rejected by Byeus, is, therefore, in the Editor's judgment, more near the truth, viz., that the Scholiast is to be regarded as an author of the eighth (or, perhaps he ought rather to have said, as he spoke only of Colgan's Scholiast, the tenth or eleventh) century.

By Colgan's Scholiast is here meant the author of the Preface, or biographical account of St. Fiacc, prefixed to the Hymn: for the gloss or notes may perhaps be from a still later hand. These, now for the first time printed, from the Dublin MS. of the *Liber Hymnorum*, are manifestly older than the notes published by Colgan. And, nevertheless, from the explanations given in them of obscure and obsolete words, it is evident that some time must have elapsed between their composition and the composition of the original hymn. The prevailing character of these notes is etymological and philological. The notes printed by Colgan are, for the most part, historical and legendary; and they contain

p. 211, cap. 28. "Et magna civitas in honore S. Moedoc ibi crevit, quæ eodem nomine vocatur .i. Fearnæ. Deinde facta synodo magna in terra Lagenensium decrevit Rex Brandub et tam laici, quam clerici ut archiepiscopus omnium Lagenensium semper esset in sede et cathedra S. Moedoc. Et tunc sanctus Moedoc a multis Catholicis consecratus est archiepiscopus." The words "a multis Catholicis consecratus" are obscure. Was this passage written at a time when a bishop might have been consecrated in Ireland by any who were not Catholics? What non-Catholic bishops were then in Ireland?

¹ *Bishops*.—Colgan's elaborate note on this passage (*Actt. SS.*, p. 217, n. 29), with the

authorities which he there quotes to prove that there were always Archbishops in Ireland, is full of the same fallacy.

² *Papebroch*.—See his *Comm. prævius in Actt. S. Patricii* (ad xvii. Mart., num. 15 (p. 520 B), where he says, "Sed et scholia in hymnum illum scripta non videntur nobis tam esse antiqua quam existimant aliqui: cum in iis non pauca occurrunt, quæ seculo septimo posteriorem auctorem sapiunt." And again, num. 33 (p. 523 D.), he says: "In quem [hymnum S. Fieci] antiqui Scholiastæ notæ pertinent ad seculum non vi., sed viii., ut illis antiquior sit Vita tum illa quam Evinius scripsit, tum alia quam Tirechanus fecit, qui ambo seculo vii. floruerunt."

also such legends as prove them to be, beyond all doubt, much later than the Hymn.

For example, the Hymn contains no allusion to the celebrated *Baculus JESU*, or "staff of Jesus," which St. Patrick was said to have received from a hermit of the Tyrrhene sea¹, and which, according to the Tripartite Life, was also delivered to him by Christ Himself². But the story is alluded to in Colgan's edition of the Scholia, where it is said that Patrick "found" the *Baculus* in an island of the Tyrrhene sea, called *Alanensis*, near Mount Armon³.

This story can scarcely be older than the eighth or ninth century. It is not found in the Book of Armagh, nor in the *Second Life*, published by Colgan, the author of which must have lived some time after the death of St. Fiacc, for he tells us expressly that the relics of Fiacc were in his time preserved in the church of *Sleibhte*⁴. It is not mentioned in the Life by Probus, who, nevertheless, notices the "*baculus*"⁵ of Patrick, and attributes to it miraculous virtues, but without any intimation that it was "the Staff of Jesus;" and no allusion to it occurs in the Gloss or Scholia of the Dublin MS., which are now for the first time published.

Again, the notes of Colgan's MS. are the only authority for the statement that the voices of the children of Caille Fochlad, calling upon St. Patrick to come and save them, were heard in Rome, not by Patrick only, but also by Pope Celestine⁶. This is an improvement upon the story told in the Hymn

¹ *Tyrrhene Sea*.—Vit. 3⁴, cap. 23; Vit. 4⁴, cap. 29; Vit. 6⁴ (Jocelin.) cap. 24.

² *Himself*.—"Venit ad vicinum Montem Hermon, in quo placuerit Christo ei apparere; ibique tanquam alteri Moysi tradidit jam laudatum baculum, qui passim *Baculus JESU* nuncupatur."—*Vit. Trip. i.*, c. 37.

³ *Armon*.—"Et tunc invenit baculum JESU, in insula Alanensi, prope Montem Armon."

⁴ *Sleibhte*.—"Quidam adolescens nomine Fiec, qui postea fuit episcopus, et reliquie eius hi *Sleibhte* [venerantur]." Vit. 2⁴, c. 38 (*Triad. Thaum.*, p. 15). But these words are closely connected with a passage in the Book of Armagh, where we read (fol. 4, b 2)—"Quidam adolescens poeta nomine Feec, qui postea mirabilis episcopus fuit, cujus re-

liquie adorantur hi *Sleibti*." The *Vita secunda* calls Fiec "adolescens," not "adolescens poeta;" and "episcopus," not "mirabilis episcopus." Is this evidence that the *Vita secunda* is older than the Book of Armagh?

⁵ *Baculus*.—Vit. 5, (Probus) lib. ii., c. 21. For the more recent history of this celebrated *Baculus*, see *Obits and Martyrol. of Christ's Church*, *Introd.*, p. xi., *sq.*, where the Editor must confess to an oversight, when he said that the Lives of St. Patrick all speak of this baculus. *Comp. St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, pp. 323, 328, 331.

⁶ *Celestine*.—"Ipse Celestinus quando ordinabatur Patricius, audiebat vocem infantium eum advocantium."





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